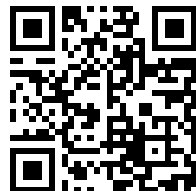

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

GoogleTM books

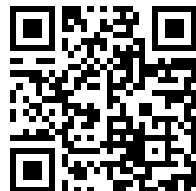
<https://books.google.com>



This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

GoogleTM books

<https://books.google.com>



LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

The Classical Review

Volume 33

1919

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
SERIALS DEPT.
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA



THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

EDITED BY W. H. D. ROUSE
AND A. D. GODLEY

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT :

PROF. R. S. CONWAY, Litt.D. (*Chairman*)

PROF. J. F. DOBSON, M.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*) PROF. A. C. CLARK, Litt.D., F.B.A. (*Hon. Secretary*)

PROF. GILBERT MURRAY, LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.R.S.L.; PROF. C. FLAMSTEAD
WALTERS, M.A.; CYRIL BAILEY, M.A.; PROF. W. RIDGEWAY, D.Litt., Litt.D.,
Sc.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

With the co-operation of—PROF. W. GARDNER HALE, University of Chicago; PRINCIPAL
SIR W. PETERSON, LL.D., C.M.G., McGill University, Montreal; PROF. T. G.
TUCKER, Litt.D., University of Melbourne.

VOLUME XXXIII.

PUBLISHED FOR THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

BOSTON, MASS.

GINN AND COMPANY, 15, ASHBURTON PLACE

1919

Reprinted with the permission of The Clarendon Press

JOHNSON REPRINT CORPORATION
111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003

JOHNSON REPRINT COMPANY LIMITED
Berkeley Square House, London, W.1

Digitized by Google

**Reprinted from a copy in the collections of
The New York Public Library**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Nos. 1, 2.

Original Contributions:		Notes—continued :	
	PAGE		PAGE
A Noble Anatolian Family of the Fourth Century. W. M. RAMSAY	1	<i>Aen.</i> XI. 45 f. and 152 f. M. A. B. HERFORD	29
The Art of Euripides in the <i>Hippolytus</i> . J. A. S.	9	Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> I. 460. H. WILLIAMSON	30
The Meaning of ΩΕ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΕ. G. W. BUTTERWORTH	15	Reviews:	
A Supposed Fragment of Theophrastus. C. M. MULVANY	18	Van Leeuwen's <i>Enchiridium</i> . A. SHEWAN	31
Phaedrus and Seneca. J. P. POSTGATE	19	Selected Essays of Plutarch. A. C. PEARSON	33
Notes:		The Greek Anthology. J. U. POWELL	35
ΙΜΑΝΤΕΛΙΓΜΟΣ. D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON	24	The Geography of Strabo. O. J. R. HOWARTH	36
<i>Anth. Pal.</i> , Book V., No. 6. M. PLATNAUER, B.E.F.	25	H. Sjögren: <i>M. Tullii Ciceronis Epp. ad Atticum</i> I.-IV. ALBERT C. CLARK	37
<i>Anth. Pal.</i> XII. 3. F. A. PROCTOR	25	The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Ioannes Arnolletus. S. G. OWEN	40
<i>Soph. Antigone</i> , 471-2	25	Juvenal and Persius. S. G. OWEN	42
Aeschylus, <i>Eumenides</i> , 864-5. R. B. APPLETON	26	Short Notices:	
<i>Recula</i> . W. M. LINDSAY	26	The Platonism of Plutarch. R. G. BURY	44
Martial XIV. xxix. 2. W. M. LINDSAY	26	Plato's Geometrical Number and the Comment of Proclus. R. G. BURY	45
Plautus, <i>Cas.</i> 416, 814. W. M. LINDSAY	26	Teucer and the Teuceri. A. S.	46
Metonymy in Horace, <i>Odes</i> , Book I. xi. J. A. SMITH	27	Notes and News	48
Virgil and Gregory of Tours. H. W. GARROD	28	Justice	47
'Quis aquam nili.' DINA PORTWAY DOBSON	28	Books Received	48

Nos. 3, 4.

Original Contributions	PAGE	Notes—continued :	PAGE
Graeco - Roman Ostraca from Dakka, Nubia. HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE	49	Note on Cicero, <i>Pro. Rab. Post.</i> 7. 17. E. G. HARDY	66
On the Date of the <i>Herakles</i> of Euripides. J. A. SPRANGER	54	Note on Virgil, <i>Eclogue</i> IV. 60 ff. W. WARDE FOWLER	67
Additions to the Greek Anthology. J. U. POWELL	55	'Mule nihil sentis' (Catullus, 88, 3). H. W. GARROD	67
<i>Nihil</i> in Ovid. A. E. HOUSMAN	56	Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> XII. 473, 519. J. S. POMPEY'S Compromise : . Cicero, <i>Ad Fam.</i> VIII. 11, 3. TENNEY FRANK	68
Phaedrus and Quintilian I. 9, 2.—A Reply to Professor Postgate. F. H. COLSON	59	Miss Matthaëi on Tragedy. J. T. SHEPPARD	69
Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i> 6. 859. H. E. BUTLER	61	Plutarch's Lives. G. W. BUTTERWORTH	71
Notes :		Euthymides and his Fellows. W. LAMB	73
Thucydides II. 48. ARTHUR PLATT Emendation of Theophrastus, <i>Characters</i> . H. G. VILJOEN	63	A History of Greek Economic Thought. A. C. PEARSON	74
The Reading in Aristophanes, <i>Ach.</i> 912. M. KEAN	63	Gaetano de Sanctis: <i>Storia dei Romani</i> . ADELA MARION ADAM	75
Euripides, <i>Hecuba</i> , 854-6. J. M. SING	64	Catalogue of Arretine Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. W. LAMB	78
Horace, <i>Sat.</i> I. ix. 39-40. M. KEAN Queries to Article on Plaut. <i>Stich.</i> 1 ff. <i>Class. Rev.</i> , September, 1918. E. J. BROOKS	64	The Descent of Manuscripts. C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS	79
Augustus. F. HAVERFIELD	65	Notes and News	84
Mandalus. Recula. Malacrucia. W. M. LINDSAY.	66	Bolshevism. T. C. WEATHERHEAD	84
		Books Received	84

Nos. 5, 6.

Original Contributions :		Notes :	
The Homeric Hymns. XII. T. L. AGAR	85	Epimenides and 'Maxanidus.' E. W. BROOKS	100
Some Notes on the Religious Character of Apollo. S. EITREM	88	The Acts xv. 29. H. H. JOHN-SON	100
On the New Fragments of Greek Poetry Recently Published at Berlin. J. U. POWELL	90	Horace C. I. 14. C. A. VINCE	101
In Propertium <i>Retractationes Selectae</i> . J. S. PHILLIMORE	91	<i>Serm.</i> II. 1, 886. <i>Epp.</i> II. 3, 120-3. JEFFERSON ELMORE	101
A Metrical Peculiarity of the <i>Culex</i> . W. WARDE FOWLER	95	Cicero's Letters to Atticus. XV. 9. H. W. M. BURD	103
The 'Prospective.' FRANK H. FOWLER	97	Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> VII. 7. 641 ff. A. M. COOK	103
		Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> VIII. 23. TENNEY FRANK	104

Notes—*continued*:

	PAGE
Two Passages of Virgil. H. W. GARROD	105
Catullus 39, 11 <i>Parcus Umber</i> . W. M. LINDSAY	105
The Derivation of Latin 'Rudis' <i>quasi</i> Singlestick. EDWIN W. FAY	106
Livy II. 30. 4. M. KEAN	107
Livy XXI. 48. 3. M. CARY	107
Quintilian I. 9. 2. J. P. POSTGATE	108
Pompey's Compromise. M. CARY	109
Nostrum Nobis. EDWIN W. FAY	109

Reviews:

The Price of Freedom. G. W. BUTTERWORTH	110
Natural Science and the Classical System in Education. FRANK GRANGER	110
Die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi. G. C. RICHARDS	113
Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors. A. E. ZIMMERN	114

Reviews—*continued*:

	PAGE
Dreams in Greek Poetry. J. T. S. A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period. F. H. M.	116
Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i> I. V. E. C. MARCHANT	117
Two Tragedies of Seneca. J. WIGHT DUFF	118
Cicero's Letters to Atticus. J. JACKSON	119
	120

Short Notices:

The Old Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection	121
The New Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection	122
Translation of Christian Literature	122
The Value of the Classics. FRANK GRANGER	122
The Letter of Aristaeas	123

Notes and News:

Greek Music	123
-----------------------	-----

Books Received	124
--------------------------	-----

Nos. 7, 8.

Original Contributions:

The New Lyric Fragments—III. J. M. EDMONDS	125
The Homeric Hymns. XIII. T. L. AGAR	130
<i>Δαίμων</i> in Homer. SAMUEL E. BASSETT	134
Euripidea. A. W. MAIR	136
Virgil. W. H. D. ROUSE	138
Harley MS. 2610, and Ovid, <i>Met.</i> I. 544-546. D. A. SLATER	140
The 'Prospective.' E. A. SONNENSCHEIN	141
'Virgil, <i>Aen.</i> VII. 695-6' Again. D. A. S.	144
Classical Teaching. H. P. CHOLMLEY	145

Notes:

Note on Herodotus III. 104. M. CARY	148
Statius, <i>Silvae</i> I. vi. 7, 8. G. M. HIRST	149
Notes on Aristophanes' <i>Pax</i> . C. BAILEY	150
Homer, <i>Odys.</i> VIII. 229. J. S. O. ROBERTSON-LUXFORD	151
On the Suggestion <i>Πορκεία</i> in the Acts of the Apostles xv. 20, 29. J. U. POWELL	151
An Uncial Fragment of Plautus. W. M. LINDSAY	152
A Passage of Fronto (Naber, p. 203). J. W. E. PEARCE	153
Notes on Latin Authors. A. SOUTER	153

Reviews :

	PAGE
Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums. E. M. W. T.	154
A Handbook of Greek Vase Painting. E. M. W. T.	155
A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases. E. M. W. T.	156
Gratti Cynegticon Quae supersunt. G. E. K. BRAUNHOLTZ	157
The Paravia Editions of the Minor Works of Tacitus. J. WIGHT DUFF	158
Boethius. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE	160
Short Notices :	
Patriotic Poetry, Greek and English. T.	163

Short Notices—*continued* :

	PAGE
The Neo-Platonists. R. G. B.	164
<i>Manuel des Études grecques et latines.</i> E. E. GENNER	164
Translations of Early Documents. (I.) The Book of Jubilees, or, The Little Genesis	164
Bolshevism. T. C. WEATHERHEAD	165
Obituary :	
Professor F. Haverfield. J. G. C. ANDERSON	165
B. B. Rogers. T. L. AGAR	167
Notes and News	167
Books Received	168

INDEX	169
-----------------	-----

The Classical Review

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1919

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

A NOBLE ANATOLIAN FAMILY OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

THE two following inscriptions were intended to form part of an article in the forthcoming number of *J.H.S.*, which however became too long. Taken in conjunction, they offer a glimpse into the life of one of those great Anatolian provincial families on whose importance in the development of Byzantine Asia Minor I have for many years been collecting information from scattered and inadequate sources. In an article in the *Quarterly Review*, 1895 (republished and much enlarged in *Paulins and Other Studies in Religious History*, p. 376 ff.), and again in *Luke the Physician and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 187 ff., some facts are collected bearing on the family system, the household life, the great mansions (τετραπύργια¹) in which they lived, and the architectural character of those buildings. The typical figures exemplifying the influence of those great landed families on Christian organisation are Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, who show the effect which the possession of money with the possibility of education at one of the great universities produced in a remote part of Cappadocia. Gregory Nyssen, the brother of Basil, exemplifies the way in which a less able member of such a family looked down on certain members of the Christian Church, sprung from humbler origin and struggling for a livelihood. I have not been struck with any sign that the same contempt for the vulgar was shown or felt by the greater personalities of Basil and Nazianzen; but I speak from very insufficient knowledge. Gregory Nyssen, however, incidentally illustrates

the attention that was given to Christian education during that century (see *Pauline and Other Studies* etc., p. 373 f.).

A proof that the facts seen in the families of Basil and the Gregories were not confined to one part of the country is furnished in the two following inscriptions, which show the standard of education in an Antiochian family of high social standing, and confirm the inferences drawn many years ago from a study of the letters of the three Cappadocian Fathers. These inscriptions also add further information, wholly unexpected, with regard to the origin of some such families. It has become more and more clear, as the study of social and family life in early and Byzantine Anatolia progresses, that the great priestly families of the pagan period frequently survived through the centuries in possession of influence and considerable wealth, and on the whole deserving this position, so far as the evidence goes, by their character. In the fourth century, to judge from the evidence here presented, some at least of those families became Christian, and yet preserved their old quality and their social eminence. When we consider further the signs of the deterioration of education during the fifth century (as e.g. when a bishop at the Council of Constantinople in 449 was obliged to employ a friend to sign for him because he was ignorant of letters, and yet was considered qualified to make laws for the universal Church²), we must ask what was the reason why such deterioration on the Central Plateau became widespread. Another

¹ See also *C.B.Phr.* II. p. 419 f., and Rostovtsev *Stud. z. G:skh. d. Kolonates*, p. 253.

² *H.G.A.M.* p. 92.

trace of this deterioration appears in the biography of St. Hypatius (*A.A.S.S.* June, IV., p. 249).

That subject is not one to enter upon in publishing two inscriptions. I mention that, while many factors contributed to it, one important cause lay in the terrible massacre by Diocletian, which was perhaps worst in the central parts of Asia Minor (especially in Phrygia, where one Christian city was burned with its entire population, a fact vouched for on the highest contemporary evidence, but discredited by the determinedly ignorant scepticism of some modern authorities). Massacre is a dangerous weapon. Not merely does it always produce a deteriorating effect of profound significance on the authors and agents of the massacre, but also sometimes, when it is carried sufficiently far, it eliminates the best elements in the body which suffers massacre, and does away with that tendency to generous liberality and enlightened toleration which are required as a sweetening influence in social life: the survivors of the massacre are made hard and intolerant, even when enough of them survive to preserve corporate life and unity (*C.B.Phr.* II. pp. 505 ff.).

The inscriptions belong to about 340-380.¹

I.

This is the epitaph on C. Calpurnius Collega Macedo, who died at the age of thirty, and was buried by his father. He was a member of the *curia* of Pisidian Antioch and the representative of an eminent and wealthy family, possessing the Roman citizenship since about A.D. 72, and clinging to the *civitas* as a mark of old family dignity even when the devotion to the Roman system of personal nomenclature was weakened and disappearing around. This inscription was found at Pisidian Antioch, in the courtyard of a house in Yalowadj. It was copied by Calder and me in 1912, and again by me in 1914. The right-hand side is broken, and about

nine or ten letters are lost at the end of each line. The surface is worn and even broken in parts; and the lettering is very faint in some places, but on the whole the text is certain, except in 9 and at the ends of lines. It is therefore unnecessary to print an epigraphic text, as type never satisfactorily represents any difficult point. The inscription is correct and free from ligatures, in the ordinary rounded form of letters.

- Γ. Καλπ. Κολλήγαν Μακεδόνα βουλευτήν ἀνδρα
ἀξιόλογον ἥρωα ?
ὅς ἐγένετο ἐν πάσῃ ἀρετῇ ὡς φησιν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ?
ποιητῆς ?
ρήτορα ἐν τοῖς δέκα Ἀθηναίων πρώτοις κλῆρον
ἐχόντα ?
4 φιλόσοφον τὰ Πλάτωνος καὶ Σωκράτους ἐτι ἀφιδού-
μενον ?
ἀρχιατρὸν ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις τὰ Ἱπποκράτους
τολμήσαντα ?
γενόμενον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἑτη τριάκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας . . .
θεοῦ προνοία καὶ ἱερῶν ἀγγέλων συνοδία μετέοικη-
σαντα
8 εἰς [ο]ὐρανὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, θάπτον ἡ εἶδει τοὺς
γινεαμένους ?
καταλιπόντα, τὸν [πῆλ]ληρον χιτῶνα ἐνταυθοὶ περι-
δυσάμενον,
κατασκευάσας τὸ ἥρῳον τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ ποθινο-
τάτῳ
καὶ [θεοφιλεστάτῳ τέκνῳ] Γ. Καλπούριος Μ[ακεδών].

1. *βουλευτής* was used at Antioch in the fourth century as corresponding to *curialis*, and did not imply that the old Hellenistic *βουλή* had been substituted for the *Curia* of the *Colonia*. The use of *hero* and *heroön* in 1 and 10 is quite consistent with Christian origin: *heroön* is frequently mentioned in the early Christian inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries (see Waddington on Lebas III. No. 2145: *C. B. Phr.* II. pp. 387, 518). The superlative degree in the final adjective *ἀξιολογώτατον* might be substituted for *ἥρωα*, but it can hardly be justified, as a *curialis* had not the superlative title.

2. In 1914 I copied APXAP or APXAIP (last letter doubtful); but *ἀρχαῖος* (suggested by Mr. Lobel) seems a probable correction. I submitted the line to Sir J. E. Sandys, who replied by return of post that, if we assume the restoration as printed, 'the poet' is necessarily Homer, that the original probably contained not *πᾶς* but *παντοῖος*, and that therefore the line was *Iliad* XV. 641, τοῦ γένετ' ἐκ πατρὸς πολὺ χείρους γούε' ἀμείνων

¹ I am indebted to Professor A. W. Mair for many suggestions, most of which I have adopted: also, as usual, my debt to Professor W. M. Calder is great.

παντοίας ἀρετάς. We had ἀρχάν[γγελος] in mind at first, seeking some Christian reference, but in 1914 I convinced myself that N was not on the stone: ἀρχάν[γελος] however would be a possible correction of the copy, but I cannot find that any known Christian book connects an archangel with this or a similar saying.

3. The stone has K-Α: K- is frequently used in local epitaphs for κε, either as a separate word κ(αί), or as a syllable, but this epitaph seems to avoid such devices as uneducated: therefore I take the mark after K as accidental. I had thought of the meaning 'who acquired fame as an orator on the same rank with the ten leading orators of the Athenians,' restoring at the end a participle like κλ[εόμενον], but κλ[ῆρον ἔχοντα] or κλ[ηρονόμου] (A.W.M.) seems preferable. It seems feasible to take the preposition ἐν in this sense. Calder suggests κέ[Αντιοχέων], but I dislike κέ.

4. ἔτι α[ίρουμενον], 'still choosing as a follower the teaching of the old philosophers,' is perhaps possible: it is defended by αἵρεσις, a philosophic sect or school, and preserves the normal length of the line: ἔτι ἀκολουθοῦντα with accusative instead of the usual dative is defended by a quotation in L.S. from Menander, and the accusative is an easy variant from dative in the article neuter plural. We saw no reason to doubt the reading ETI; but TI and II are hardly distinguishable on a broken surface: ἐπαγγελόμενον, 'professed,' would give good sense, but is rather long: ἐπακολουθοῦντα (A.W.M.) would also suit well, but is no shorter.

5. I supposed that the concluding participle was το[λμῶντα], 'venturing to do (or imitate) a thing' (usually with infinitive or participle), but this is rather short, and not wholly satisfactory. Calder suggested τε[λῶντα], but this also is short, and in 1914 I felt confident that O (broken), not E, was on the stone (which is well preserved here at the edge of the break). το[λμήσαντα] would be of the right length. (σ)το[λήσαντα] (A.W.M.) (assuming haplo-

graphy) appears most probable.¹ It is common in the N.T. and papyri (where it takes the dative); the use of the accusative is no real objection, as similar variation occurs with other verbs, e.g. ἀκολουθεῖν, παρακολουθεῖν.

6-8. 'Living among men thirty years and [twelve] days, through the providence of God and in the convoy of the holy angels changing his home to heaven from among men, leaving his parents more quickly than was right, putting off the mantle of clay (to consign it) to this place.' The precise statement of the age of the deceased is a common and widespread Christian custom, which hardly occurs in pagan epitaphs. In the present case the months are omitted, showing that the deceased had exceeded thirty years by less than a month. Similarly in the well-known Christian inscription found in the catacombs dated by the Consuls of A.D. 237 (one of them incorrectly named) the dead child was eight years and a few days old: he had been sick for a hundred and twelve days, and the long anxiety of the parents nursing him from hour to hour is expressed in counting the time by days alone. The passage is definitely Christian, after a well-established type. The phraseology in 9 is evidently Christian, and the allusion to the 'Providence of God' occurs in Lycaonia during the fifth century. Hence 7 and 9 are restored with Christian touches. The cumulation of endearing adjectives at the end is common in Christian epitaphs; it is of course not confined to them, but I remember nothing so extreme on any pagan stone as is here the case.

7. The allusion to the angels accompanying the departed spirit to heaven perhaps alludes to the subject of a sculpture accompanying the epitaph, and if so has a bearing on the development of Christian art. με[τοικήσαντα] (A.W.M.) is right. I had a less typically Christian compound.

¹ The genitive -του is barred out by Σωκράτους above: that form, common in late inscriptions, is below the Greek standard of this epitaph.

8. The lines ended with a word meaning parents; but γονέας is too short. Either it was followed by some short word, or perhaps the more poetic term τοὺς γειναμένους] was employed. It is difficult to determine exactly in this inscription the exact number of letters lost at the end, because often a new subject begins in the new line, and there may have been a certain space left free at the end of the preceding line; but in this case, 8-9, there is no break in the sense, and there is no reason to think that an unwritten space would be left at the end of 8.

9. Part of the surface is much worn. The adjective before χιτῶνα is the difficult point. It seems to begin with an upright stroke, e.g. I or II or Γ: Δ (or A) is the letter before IN. These conditions exclude λάνον or γήινον. Both in 1912 and in 1914 the reading πήλινον seemed most probable, but there seemed bare room for such a long word, and this happened to be in our minds (assuming a Christian idea 'putting off the garment of clay'). On further consideration I abandoned the thought of a Christian idea here, and saw another tag from 'the poet': the writer, who was educated in epic poetry and remembered Homer's expression λάνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα about a person who being stoned to death put on a garment of stone, applied this idea to his son, who was buried in a clay (or stone) sarcophagus inside the family mausoleum, and thus clothed himself in a garment of either clay or earth περι- [δυσάμενον]; but Professor Mair reconverts me to the former opinion, pointing out that περιδύω is commonly used in the sense of 'taking off a garment,' and that this usage, while quite frequent in later Greek, is also employed in good Classical Greek, e.g. Antiphon *Tetr.* I. 2, 5, and Hyperides *Fr.* 263 (Blass) quoted from *Pollux* VIII. 44, and even in *Iliad* XI. 100 (disputed by Dr. Leaf and Mr. Keane, who quote German authority; but probably incorrectly).¹ At any rate, it is admitted

that the word in *Iliad*. *l.c.* was commonly understood in the sense of 'taking off'; and this sense was therefore familiar to the composer of this Phrygian epitaph both from Homer and from common usage in later Greek. I therefore recur to the Christian idea that Collega put off from himself the mantle of clay, depositing it in the grave here (ἐνταυθοῖ) while he himself changed his home from earth to heaven. At the same time Homer's περιδύσε χιτῶνας might be in the writer's mind, turned to Christian use, probably combined with a vague thought of 2 Cor. V. 3 f.

10-11. The construction is involved. The idea is that C. Calpurnius Macedo, in constructing the tomb for his sweetest and dearest son beloved of god, (did honour to him); and on this unexpressed verb (ἐκόσμησεν or ἐτίμησεν) depends the whole series of accusatives in 1-9. The expression at the end, retaining a trace of the old pagan idea of the tomb, belongs to the period already indicated, c. 350 A.D.

This inscription presents several features of unusual interest. It is Christian, and its Christianity belongs to the time of freedom, not to the older period of concealment and veiling of religious feeling. It is written in better Greek than was usual in Anatolian, especially Christian, epigraphy, better even than the epitaph of Bishop Eugenios of Laodiceia, which is almost contemporary, and to which it shows various points of analogy.

The writer, father of the deceased, belonged to the old native aristocracy of Antioch, and possessed education and wealth. His education imparts literary quality to the epitaph (which is filled with sympathy for old literature, and yet is thoroughly Christian), and induced him to give his son the best education possible. The fond parent sees in his son a many-sided distinction of excellence, which placed him as an orator on the level of the ten leading famous orators of the Athenians, and as a philosopher made him a professed exponent of the teaching of Plato and Socrates; while as a leading physician he ventured to repeat the achievements

¹ περιδύω is rare in the sense of putting on. Professor Mair thinks that it was used of removing the inner garment, ἀποδύω of putting off the outer cloak.

of Hippocrates,¹ both in prescriptions as a physician and in operations as a surgeon. The form of this laudation gives a favourable impression of Christian society in Antioch during the fourth century, when leading Anatolian Christians, such as Basil and Gregory, were studying at the University of Athens.

II.

This very difficult text, in the outer wall of the mosque at Oerkenez, four hours south-east from Antioch, is published by Sterrett *E.J.* 182 from the copy of the late J. H. Haynes without transcription: it was recopied by Mrs. Hasluck with Calder and myself in 1911. There remain difficulties at one or two points, especially in 9. The first letter of every line on the stone except 7 is injured or lost. Each hexameter gets two lines (like the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus):

Κολλήγαν, μάκαρός τε Μακροδότος ἡδ' ἱεροῖο
3 4 βλαστὸν Κολλήγῳ, ἀρετῆς θάλος ἀθανάτοι[ο,
τὸν νέον ἀμβρόσιον μνή[μ]ης συνέφυνε παλαιῷς
7-8 μήτηρ δ' εὐώδην δυσαρ[στ]οτόκεα τε Μάγνα
ἡ] γεν[ε]τη τε κάσει τε μέλος παρακάτθετο ἡδύ
11-12 τ]ὸν σοφὸν ἱγντρὸν εἰκοστὸν ἄγοντα ἔτος.

There are several ligatures, 5 NMNH, 7 MH, 9 HTEK (difficult and uncertain). In 7 εὐώδην is quoted from *Anth.*

This epitaph was erected by the widow of Calpurnius Collega, whom the first epitaph commemorates, in honour of their son, who took the *cognomen* Collega as his sole name Kollegas. In the interval, evidently about twenty years or a little less between the two inscriptions, the Roman system of personal nomenclature had been abandoned (if we may trust the usage of a metrical epitaph), and the Byzantine system, which approximated more to Greek usage, had become common, and was adopted even in an old family where the Roman usage had been maintained to the middle of the fourth century. Both the son and the father are here called Kollegas,² whereas the father and the grandfather were spoken of twenty years previously by full Roman designation.

This epitaph is more ambitious in style than the other and not so successful from any point of view. It wants the simplicity that characterises the former epitaph, in which the strong family affection displayed fully atoned for the evident partiality and tendency to exaggerate the excellence of a lost son. The second epitaph is metrical, though the scansion is awkward and not always correct. The construction is highly involved, but is grammatically quite defensible provided that the word δέ is omitted in l. 7. The lady, Magna, is probably the real composer of the epitaph, which is not got from the local schoolmaster, but shows personal feeling and family affection. She was evidently a person of good education, though not completely mistress of the Greek language.

The meaning seems to be 'Kollegas, son of blissful and holy Collega Macedo, scion of undying excellence, his mother giving him birth added the young immortal to the ancient of history, bearing one who was best though born only to die, Magna, mother of a noble son, who laid beside his father and brother a loved sweet member of the family, the skilful physician, who was in his twentieth year.' Evidently the father Collega Macedo was already dead (μάκαρ), and the mother Magna alone erects the tomb of her son: there is a reference to the epitaph of the father in the statement that the son was a scion of immortal excellence, for the father is there said to be 'born in all excellence.' The thought of her husband is evidently in the widow's mind when she speaks about their son as 'the new immortal.' He has been conjoined by right of birth with the members of an historic holy and old family, and the mother is privileged in having given birth to such a son though born only to die. The reference to his training as a physician is noteworthy, and is explained by the family history as stated.

The lady Magna who composed the epigram uses H in the second syllable of Makedon, apparently with the intention of making it long, showing that difference was still felt between the length of *eta* and *epsilon* about 370 A.D.

¹ τολμήσαντα: (στοιχίσαντα would mean acting according to.)

² A second name in one case at least.

in Phrygia by the writers of one epitaph, not merely by authors of literature. The facts regarding the use of *eta* in different parts of the country are of some interest. Forms with H are used occasionally in poets (also by Eustathius) in the names of the country and the inhabitants. The lady Magna was much better educated than ordinary Phrygians, and though she was not likely to be acquainted with Callimachus IV. 167, yet she may have been familiar with some of the late epigrams and the *Anthology*, in which this quantity is known. At any rate she was sufficiently acquainted with Greek quantities to employ a spelling here that justified her scansion.

1. The second word *μάκαρ* is a poetical variation of the ordinary Christian *μακάριος*, 'the blessed dead.' Compare Euripides *Alc.* 1002 f., *αὐτα ποτε προῦθαν' ἀνδρός, νῦν δ' ἐστὶ μακαίρα δαίμων*. Pagan usage tended rather to prefer *μακαρίτης*, *μακαρίτις*, than *μακάριος*; the latter became characteristically Christian and the former tended to be pagan (as exemplified in an inscription, No. I., in my article in the recent number of *J.H.S.* 1918): compare Theocritus II. 70, Herondas VI. 55. These examples are suggested by A.W.M., and confirm the tendency to this distinction, which I have stated in the article in *J.H.S.* At the same time this tendency cannot be said to be a law, as exceptions certainly occur.

5. There is some temptation to regard Ambrosios as a second name of the young deceased Kollegas. The construction *μνη[μ]ης παλαιοῖς* seems possible though undoubtedly bold; the reading seemed to us certain. She bore this son to be conjoined in the same family with the ancient members who played a part in history. There is here probably a reference to the ancient descent of this great hieratic family from priest-dynasts and a god, according to the common Anatolian custom (which is illustrated by many examples in the article already mentioned, *J.H.S.* 1918).

7. The word *δέ* breaks the construction, and is probably due to a mere

slip. The mother in 7 is required as the nominative to the verb *συνέφυνε* in the preceding line. The adjective *εὐώδις* is quoted also from the *Anthology*, from Nonnus, and other late writers. The following adjective *δυσαριστοτόκεια* is a happy quotation from *Iliad* XVIII. 54.

9. I follow here A.W.M., having myself thought of *[εὐ]γενέτη* (for *εὐγενέ- τεira*) *τοκάς*, which seemed suitable to the text on the stone, but does not offer such good sense, and is a *ἄπαξ εἰρη- μένον*. My restoration involved the error *εἶτε* by the scribe for *εἶτα*.

10. The expression *μέλος ἡδύ* might indicate the metrical epitaph which was placed on the tomb, but there seems no possibility of making good construction if the words are taken in this sense.

11. The Ionic form *ιητρός* is probably used also at Apollonia in a metrical epigram of great interest, but the word there is incomplete, though I have long restored it in this way. Perhaps the Ionic form is due to ancient medical influence from the great schools of medicine attached to the temples on the west coast. Hippocrates used the Ionic dialect in writing.

11-12. It looks as if there were space for something more than TON at the beginning of 12; possibly there was also an I at the end of 11 and *[ἐκ]τον* at the beginning of line 12:¹ but more probably the last line was engraved rather loosely as the space was abundant, and the lady when it came to a matter of numbers was exceptionally careless in her scansion. She might have made a much better line if instead of *ἔτος* she had used the word *ἐνιαυτός* (for she apparently does not attempt to conclude with a pentameter). The twentieth year is rather frequent in this sort of epitaph, and was perhaps used as a pathetic touch without regard to strict accuracy in time; but the lady Magna stands apart from the stock formulae of local metrical epitaphs, and probably would not imitate them even in such a detail.

¹ The text would then be *εἰρ σι ἔκτον*.

In Epitaph I. no reference is made to the mother of the deceased except in the implication of l. 9, that she like the father was living when the son died. The deceased, thirty years old, was married, as might be taken for granted in Phrygia; but his wife is not mentioned. From the second inscription we learn that his wife was called Magna, and the Latin name suggests that she too probably belonged to a family possessing the *civitas*, though this is not certain, for Magna perhaps had passed into the common stock of Anatolian personal nomenclature. We learn also from the second epitaph that she and her husband, the writer of Epitaph I., had another son who died very young. Magna was qualified to make the tomb and the following epitaph for her son, though she does not appear as taking part in the erection of the epitaph of her husband. At first she was not in any sense *κυρία* or *οικοδεσπότις*, but was only a Nympha residing in the family mansion of her father-in-law after the old Phrygian fashion. There she was under a very mild form of *patria potestas*, not like the strict Roman usage but according to the Phrygian custom, on which inscriptions of Phrygian Lycaonia throw much light. See also in *Studies in the History of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 148 ff., 373 f., also 71, 82, 121; *Hist. Comm. on Epist. Galat.*, pp. 338 ff., 352 ff., 374.

It must always be remembered in the study of Anatolian custom that both Pisidian Antioch and Iconium (with the cities of Lycaonia to the north of it) were in the strictest sense Phrygian cities, inhabited mainly by a Phrygian population, amid which the use of Phrygian as a home language lasted till a comparatively late date. Hence the inscriptions of this Phrygian region of Lycaonia throw light on, and receive much light from, the inscriptions of the Tembris valley, a very rustic, uneducated part of north Phrygia, where the true old Phrygian custom lingered longest. On the other hand central Phrygia was hellenised in great degree at a much earlier time, and the epitaphs of the Roman period in that part of Phrygia attest generally a different state of family custom. The gradual hel-

lenisation of Anatolia, proceeding eastward (especially from the Maeander valley) along the great roads, sometimes leaving untouched districts which lay off the lines of communication, necessitates a careful consideration and classification of the epigraphic evidence as bearing upon native custom. All should be studied in the light of Mitteis' *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht* and his other works.

Apparently the two epitaphs were engraved on stones which formed part of a large family mausoleum. One of these has been carried to Oerkenez, and the other to Yalowadj (where it was said to have been brought 'from the fields'). The mausoleum therefore was probably somewhere between these two places; in other words it was not far from Gemen (Γῆ Μηνός),¹ which was (as we infer on various grounds) the district specially connected with the upkeep of the sanctuary of Men, and therefore probably associated with the priestly family. The priesthood had been taken away from this family by Augustus in 25 B.C., but he did not degrade or destroy the family (as has sometimes been falsely inferred from the language of Strabo 577); and probably this was the family to which the mausoleum at Gemen belonged, for the study of medicine was apparently hereditary in the holy family, and closely connected with all great Anatolian religious centres. This ancient hieratic tradition then furnishes a probable explanation of the epithet 'holy' in the second epitaph. Even though the family had become Christian and no longer retained its priestly connection, still the holy and the medical tradition remained in the family.

Among the Christians of the third and fourth centuries the profession of medicine was highly honoured, and a large number of Christian physicians are known. The subject has been fully treated by Harnack mainly on the literary evidence. Basil of Caesarea writes a noble eulogy of the medical profession. 'To put that science at the head and front of life's pursuits is to judge reasonably and rightly' (*Epist.*

¹ Gemen two hours south-east of Yalowadj, two hours north-west of Oerkenez.

189). It is true that the practice of medicine was not purely scientific, but was mixed up with charms, religious incantations, and the prayers of hermits, and also relied on the relics of martyrs as a curative influence (*Epist.* 49);¹ but this does not prove that scientific tradition was forgotten or ignored. The mob laid stress on the religious side of the treatment. It is worthy of note, although possibly it is a mere coincidence, that the great-grandson of Sergius Paullus, governor of Cyprus about A.D. 46, used to attend the medical demonstrations given by Galen in Rome. According to the Acts of the Apostles the governor of Cyprus was, if not converted to Christianity, at least very favourably inclined to it. There seems no possibility that the great-grandson was also Christian; Christianity seems to have died out in the family; but there are many remarkable facts, showing a certain inclination towards serious religious thought and even towards Christianity, and a certain relationship with other noble families suspected of Christianity, which appear among the Sergii from time to time (see the facts collected in my *Bearing of Discovery on the New Testament*, Ch. XII., and later discoveries in an article in the *Expository Times*, April, 1918). To these must be added as deserving registration the medical studies of the great-grandson.

The Roman system of personal names is decaying in the three generations covered by the two inscriptions. The grandfather, C. Calpurnius Macedo, writing Greek, is fully Roman: so also the son, C. Calpurnius Collega Macedon; but in the case of the grandson, if we may judge from a metrical epitaph, Kollegas is treated as not specifically Roman, but merely a hereditary name in the family. The family clung late to the pride of old descent, but gradually forgot the Roman system of the triple name. This marks the middle of the fourth century in Lycaonia.² Probably

the family obtained the *civitas* under Vespasian, when Calpurnius Asprenas and Pompeius Collega were successive governors of the province.³ Macedo became a stock name, which lasted through the centuries after Seleucid times. The Roman name was frequently determined according to the reigning emperor or governor at the time when the *civitas* was attained: sometimes the conjunction of the names of emperor and governor proves the date very precisely. The second *cognomen* was often individual, showing the native origin. There is no reason to connect the second *cognomen* with C. Larcus Macedo, who governed Galatia under Hadrian.

The date c. 350 A.D. is indicated by another consideration. Less stress is laid on the constructor of the tomb and more on the deceased, a characteristic feature of that period: earlier epitaphs in Phrygia began by naming and describing the constructor of the grave: gradually during the fourth century less and less prominence was given to the constructor, and the deceased was mentioned first, while the constructor was described briefly at the end; and at last it became usual to mention only the deceased.⁴ In this change there is involved the transition from the pagan sepulchral custom to the Christian. To the pagan Anatolian feeling the construction of the tomb is a duty of supreme religious significance. It is the construction of a home for the

¹ See the writer's *Pauline and Other Studies in Early Christian History*, pp. 380 f.

² This criterion of date is emphasised in the writer's paper on 'The Church of Lycaonia in Century IV.' (*Luke the Physician, and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 336 f.).

³ I have conjectured in *Bearing of Research on New Testament*, p. 157, that L. Sergius Paullus governed Galatia between Asprenas and Collega; but left it open as a possibility that Sergius was already governor under Nero. I now believe that the latter alternative is more probable, that Sergius died in office young, and was succeeded by Calpurnius Asprenas, A.D. 68. This supposition suits Tacitus' expression 'provincias regendas permiserat Galba (Asprenati)' (*Hist.* II. 9). When Sergius Paullus died, the governor of Pamphylia was directed to take over Galatia also, and thus exceptionally the Galatian governor ruled the coast that year. Other reasons for suspecting that this Sergius died young are stated in my article on the Sergii Paulii in *Expos. Times*, April, 1918.

⁴ The facts as an argument of date are stated more fully in my paper 'The Fourth Century Church in Lycaonia' (*Luke and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 336 f.).

deceased, who at death becomes the god; and thus his home is a temple, and his worshippers meet in his temple to perform the ritual annually in honour of the new god identified with the god of the locality to whom he returns in death.¹ The Christian custom ceases to lay stress on the construction of the tomb, but lays all the emphasis on the deceased, whose body is consigned to

¹ *Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia*, J.H.S., 1884, p. 261, more developed in *Studies in E. Rom. Prov.* p. 271 ff.

the tomb, though his real self is not there. This thought is expressed with exceptional and eminent clearness in the highly educated Epitaph I. Metrical epitaphs were little influenced by custom and law.

[NOTE.— Since this article was printed, the proof that a hieratic family at Antioch bore the name Calpurnius has been strengthened by further epigraphic evidence.]

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE ART OF EURIPIDES IN THE *HIPPOLYTUS*.

I.

IN the *Alcestis* and the *Ion* there are so many apparent deficiencies of composition that Professor Verrall has been led to seek for an explanation and has found a very brilliant and plausible one in the 'rationalistic' idea of Euripides.¹

According to Professor Verrall's argument the plays mentioned cannot be considered the work of anyone but a 'dullard' and a 'botcher,' unless we admit the ulterior motive, the 'moral' which he reads in them, when they become very remarkable *tours de force* of a master hand.

The 'moral' that he reads in them is, firstly, that 'the gods' do not exist; and, secondly, that the prophecies and worship of the Delphic Apollo are a farce.

Professor Verrall's book must be read in order to appreciate how far he has proved his point.

In the *Hippolytus* we find no such apparent lack of cohesion as would lead us to condemn it *a priori* as the work of an inferior artist. The scenes are well composed and the story runs fairly smoothly.

The *ex hypothesi* moral of the story is a warning against extremes in love: woe to those who love so passionately as Phaedra, woe to those who avoid love so entirely as Hippolytus! Moderation, moderation in all things, is best.²

We are going to find that there is probably an ulterior motive in the *Hippolytus*, a second and more subtly pointed

'moral'; but it does not contradict the *ex hypothesi* one. On the contrary, we shall find that the theme of moderation, moderation in all things, is only strengthened and confirmed by it.

Let us now look through the play and see if there is anything to attract our attention away from the *ex hypothesi* moral, and if so, what that may be to which our attention is directed.

The piece begins with a prologue by Aphrodite. She tells the audience who she is, and mentions that while she advances those who respect her power, she destroys whoever does not.³

Follows the story of Hippolytus and of the love for him that she has placed in the heart of Phaedra.⁴

She explains that Hippolytus is to die for his disrespect of her decrees—is to die by the word of his own father, who will call on Poseidon to fulfil, by slaying Hippolytus, one of the three wishes he had granted to Theseus.

She adds that Phaedra, though a noble nature, is to die too:

τὸ γὰρ τῆσδ' οὐ προτιμήσω κακὸν
τὸ μὴ οὐ παρασχεῖν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐμοὶ
δικὴν τοσαύτην ὥστ' ἐμοὶ καλῶς ἔχειν.

She departs, advising the audience of the approach of Hippolytus, all unsuspecting of his impending fate.

And now comes a surprise. Instead of addressing the audience in the usual iambic trimeters, Hippolytus calls in lyric measure upon his attendants to sing

¹ *Euripides the Rationalist*, by A. W. Verrall.

² Ll. 261-6.

a hymn to Artemis, which they accordingly proceed to do.¹

This is the only instance, in all the plays of Euripides that we possess, of a lyrical hymn preceding the entrance of the chorus: for Hippolytus' followers do not constitute the chorus, which is formed of Troezenian women, and is to appear later on.

We cannot admit that Euripides committed such a breach of usual custom without some definite object; but whatever that may have been, and we shall see later, the effect on the audience could be one only—namely, to rivet their attention to what immediately follows.

What does follow is the dedication by Hippolytus of a wreath to the statue of Artemis: not apparently a very relevant incident, except as a continuation of the short ode that his attendants have just finished singing.

It seems curious that the grammarians should have fixed upon this incident to give this play the name—*Στεφανηφόρος*—by which they distinguished it from another Hippolytus by the same author, which they called *καλυπτόμενος*.

One of the followers of Hippolytus now addresses him, in a line containing an apparently unnecessary and almost exaggeratedly reverent reference to the gods. The servant asks him if he would listen to good counsel, and on his assent, asks him if he knows a certain law of men.

ΙΠΠ. οὐκ οἶδα· τοῦ δὲ καὶ μ' ἀνιστορεῖς πέρι;
ΘΕΡ. μυσὲν τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ πᾶσιν φίλον;

Now this is hardly a law, or a rule even. It is at most a way of thinking common to most men.

ΙΠΠ. ὀρθῶς γε· τίς δ' οὐ σεμνὸς ἀχθεὺνός βροτῶν;
ΘΕΡ. ἐν δ' εὐπροσηγόροις ἐστὶ τις χάρις;
ΙΠΠ. πλείστη γε, καὶ κέρδος γε σὺν μόχθῳ βραχεῖ.
ΘΕΡ. ἢ κὰν θεοῖσι ταῦτ' ἐλπίσεις τόδε;
ΙΠΠ. εἴπερ γε θνητοὶ θεῶν νόμοισι χρώμεθα.

The follower proceeds to apply this to the case of Hippolytus and Aphrodité, but instead of laying stress, as we should expect, on the proud aloofness of Hippolytus which tends to make him disliked by Aphrodité, he continues to refer to the 'dignity' of the goddess herself.

Hippolytus expresses a very casual sort of adoration for her, and departs with words that might be translated:

'As for that Aphrodite of yours, just give her my love!'²

The man bends in worship before the statue of the goddess, remarking that one must make allowances for youth, and the whole prologue ends with his words:

σοφωτέρους γὰρ χρὴ βροτῶν εἶναι θεούς.

After the choral ode, at l. 176, the action of the play proper begins.

It is made clear that all Phaedra's efforts at self-control have been rendered useless by the influence of the Cyprian goddess.

When the nurse, under oath of secrecy, reveals her mistress's love to Hippolytus, we have him threatening to denounce her in his righteous anger, till she reminds him of his oath. He then bursts out with the famous line (l. 612):

ἡ γλῶσσα' ὁμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρίν ἀνώματος,

but keeps his promise, nevertheless.

Phaedra hangs herself, and then Theseus arrives. He finds the tablet hanging from her wrist.

ΘΗΣ. Ἰππόλυτος εὐνῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἔτλη θιγεῖν 887
βία, τὸ σεμνὸν Ἰητὸς ὅμ' ἀτιμάσας.
ἀλλ' ὦ πάτερ Πόσειδον, ἃς ἐμοὶ ποτε
ἀράς ὑπέσχου τρεῖς, μὰ κατέργασαι
τούτων ἐμὸν παῖδ', ἡμέραν δὲ μὴ φύγει
τήνδ', εἴπερ ἡμῖν ὥπασας σαφεῖς ἀράς.

The chorus beg him to withdraw these words.

ΘΗΣ. οὐκ ἔστι· καὶ πρὸς γ' ἐξελῶ σφε τῆσδε γῆς,
διούνι δὲ μοῖραν θατέρω πεπλήξεται·
ἡ γὰρ Πόσειδων αὐτὸν εἰς Αἶδου πύλας
θανόντα πέμψει τὰς ἐμὰς ἀράς σέβων,
ἡ τῆσδε χώρας ἐκπεσὼν ἀλώμενος
ξένην ἐπ' αἶαν λυπρὸν ἀντλήσει βίον.

This is indeed a strange way of calling on Poseidon to fulfil an obligation he has solemnly undertaken! First Theseus adds, 'If the oaths thou swearest be true,' and then, to make sure in case they are not, he pronounces the sentence of exile so that if one punishment does not succeed, the other will. Scant respect for his ocean father, truly!

Hippolytus now enters, and his father's wrath breaks loose upon him. The accusation and sentence of exile are repeated, but not the curse of Poseidon, which, it is worth noticing, Hippolytus himself has therefore not heard, since it was pronounced before his entry on the scene.

² L. 113: τὴν σὴν δὲ Κύπριν πολλὰ' ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω.

¹ Ll. 61-72.

He defends himself as well as he can without breaking his oath of secrecy to the nurse. In the midst of his father's invective he remarks (l. 1041):

καὶ σοὺ γε κάρτα ταῦτα θανμάζω, πατέρ·
εἰ γὰρ σὺ μὲν παῖς ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν πατὴρ,
ἐκτενέα τοί σ' ἂν κοῦ φονγαῖς ἐξημῶν,
εἴπερ γυναικὸς ἤξιους ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς.

This shows quite clearly, should any doubt remain, that Hippolytus had not heard the curse pronounced against him.

Theseus answers that death were too easy an end for such a sinner. He points to the testimony of the tablet. Hippolytus cries (l. 1060).

ὦ θεοί, τί δῆτα τοῦμόν οὐ λύω στόμα,
δοσις γ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ σέβω, δόλοισι;
οὐ δῆτα· πάντως οὐ τίσοιμ' ἂν οὗς με δεῖ,
μάτηρ δ' ἂν ὀρκούς συγχέαιμ' οὗς ὤμοσα.

The dialogue continues. He calls on the very walls to witness for him. Theseus replies (l. 1076):

εἰς τοὺς ἀφώνους μάρτυρας φέυγεις σοφῶς·

and orders the servants to cast him out. With a farewell to his fatherland, Hippolytus departs. We notice that since the beginning of the action at l. 176 the oath of Poseidon has only been mentioned once, in the verses we have quoted above (ll. 887-898).

But now a Messenger arrives, telling how that oath has been fulfilled.

Hippolytus, it seems, was driving along the road to Epidaurus and had reached the shore of the Saronic Gulf, when a great wave from the sea rushed at his chariot, and out of this wave came a bull-shaped monster that kept coming in front of his team, until the horses bolted in a panic, broke one of the chariot-wheels against a stone, and dragged Hippolytus, who had fallen entangled in the reins, until he was mortally injured. The monster then suddenly vanished.

Theseus orders that Hippolytus be brought in. A brief choral song to Eros the terrible and his mother Aphrodite brings us to the epilogue proper.

Artemis appears.

She explains to the astonished and awestruck Theseus how his wife had been enamoured of his son; how she had tried to control her passion, but revealing it to her nurse had been ruined by the well-meant plans of the old woman; how Hippolytus, being sworn to secrecy, had

not disclosed the fact even when reviled by Theseus for a crime he had not committed; how Phaedra had written the lying tablet and had thus ruined Hippolytus by her wiles, succeeding in persuading Theseus of his guilt.

Theseus at this point remarks: 'Woe is me!' Artemis continues, telling him there is worse to come. She reminds him that he had called on Poseidon to fulfil one of the three wishes:

(l. 1318) πατὴρ μὲν οὖν σοι πόντος φρονῶν καλῶς
ἔδωχ' ὅσον περ χρῆν, ἐπεὶ περ ἦνεσεν·
σὺ δ' ἔν τ' ἐκείνῳ κἂν ἐμοὶ φαίνει κακός,
ὅς οὔτε πίστιν οὔτε μάντευς ὅπα
ἔμεινας, οὐκ ἠλεγξας, οὐ χρόνῳ μακρῷ
σκέψιν παρέσχες, ἀλλὰ θάσσον ἢ σ' ἐχρῆν
ἀρὰς ἐφῆκας παιδί καὶ κατέκτανες.

She goes on, however, laying the responsibility for all these disasters on Aphrodite.

(l. 1328) θεοῖσι δ' ὧδ' ἔχει νόμος·
οὐδεὶς ἀπαντᾶν βούλεται προθυμῶ
τῇ τοῦ θέλοντος, ἀλλ' ἀφιστάμεσθ' ἀεί.

Otherwise, of course, if she had not been afraid to ask Zeus, she would have intervened to save her beloved Hippolytus.

A most interesting glimpse of the internal economy of Olympus this, certainly; but where is the self-respect of a goddess who can thus excuse herself before a mortal?

Hippolytus is brought in and Artemis speaks a few words to him, repeating that Aphrodite is to blame, regretting she may not weep for him, and making a few trite remarks.

Hippolytus turns to his father and says he is far sorrier for him than for himself. Then he suddenly observes:

(l. 1411) ὦ δῶρα πατὸς σοῦ Ποσειδῶνος πικρά.

Now, as we have seen,¹ Hippolytus cannot know that his father called on Poseidon to slay him, so this reference to the matter in his mouth looks like a very unfortunate oversight—a bad piece of 'botching' on the author's part.

ΘΗΣ. ὡς μή ποτ' ἐλθεῖν ὦφελ' εἰς τοῦμόν στόμα.
ΠΗΠ. τί δ'; ἐκτανέας τὰν μ', ὡς τότε ἦσθ' ὠργισμένος.
ΘΗΣ. δόξης γὰρ ἦμεν πρὸς θεῶν ἐσφαλμένοι.

Hippolytus expresses a wish that the human race could curse the gods.

Artemis cannot and does not approve of this; she warns him that if he is not careful Aphrodite will pursue him with

her wrath even in Hades, but attempts to console him by telling him that she is planning a nice revenge on the Cyprian, that he, Hippolytus, will always be honoured in Troezen, and that, as long as men make poetry, Phaedra's love for him will not be forgotten.

In view of the efforts of Euripides, Seneca, Racine and D'Annunzio, it may be admitted that as far as the last item goes Artemis has been a true prophetess up to date.

Artemis now departs, for she may not stand in presence of the dead, and, after a brief dialogue, in which Hippolytus forgives his father for causing his death, he passes away, and the play closes with the well-known lines supposed to be commemorative of the death of Pericles (ll. 1459-1466).

II.

We would suggest that the moral of the *Hippolytus* is that 'circumstances alter cases,' and that this moral is pointed by two instances, one of a man, the other of a god, who, by neglecting to take this true saying into account, bring about disastrous results exactly contrary to their original intentions and desires.

The man is Hippolytus, the god, Poseidon. Hippolytus, the chaste and true, is loved by his stepmother Phaedra, who confides the fact to her nurse. The nurse, having extracted an oath that he will not repeat it, tells the fact to Hippolytus. Phaedra overhears the pious horror of Hippolytus. Her love for him turns to hate, she fears the dishonour of a revelation, and so hangs herself leaving a letter in which she accuses Hippolytus of having outraged her. Theseus, her husband, finds the letter, and bitterly upbraids Hippolytus, whom he sends into exile as a punishment for his immodesty and treachery.

Had Hippolytus, after Phaedra's death, only broken his promise and spoken, he could have cleared himself and all would have been well.

This is the story of the man: a purely human story, with no gods in it anywhere.

Now for the other.

The god Poseidon had granted his son Theseus, as a gift, three wishes which he had sworn to fulfil, whatever they might

be. Theseus, on reading the letter falsely accusing his son Hippolytus of having outraged Phaedra, calls on Poseidon to fulfil one of his wishes and slay Hippolytus that very day. Poseidon, having sworn, does so: thus bringing deep sorrow on his own son Theseus.

Had Poseidon, who, as a god, of course knew the truth of the matter, only broken his promise and stayed his hand, all would have been well.

We would also suggest that Euripides had begun by pointing the moral in one story only, that of Hippolytus, leaving out Poseidon altogether: but that he had been rather too outspoken, and the ending, which left Hippolytus still under the accusation, was objected to by the critics.

He accordingly made a few alterations in the play, but to ensure the original point not being missed by the audience, he added the story of Poseidon, grafting it into the original tale and adding a last scene in which Hippolytus is absolved completely of all blame.

The play, thus modified, won the first prize.¹

We do not possess the piece in its original form, which was known to the grammarians as *Ἰππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος*; but a few surviving fragments may serve to give an idea of the standpoint adopted by its author:

ἔγωγε φημι, καὶ νόμον γε μὴ σέβειν
ἐν τοῖσι δεινοῖσι τῶν ἀναγκῶν πλεόν.²

ὁρῶ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγὼ
τλκτουςαν ὕβριν τὴν πάροιθ' εὐπραξίαν.³

φεῦ, φεῦ, τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματα' ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν
φωνήν, ἢν' ὥσι μὴδὲν οἱ δεινὸν λόγοι.
νῦν δ' εὐρύθμοις πιστώμασιν τάληθστάτα
κλέπτουσιν, ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν ἂ χρεὶ δοκεῖν.⁴

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα κρίνουσιν θεοί.⁵

The piece as we have it, the *Ἰππόλυτος Στεφανηφόρος*, is, as we have seen, nowhere quite so plain-spoken, but it must have

¹ Hippolytus, ὑπόθεσις.

ἔστι δὲ οὗτος Ἰππόλυτος δεύτερος, καὶ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΑΣ
προσαγορευόμενος. ἐμφαίνεται δὲ ὅσπερος γεγραμμένος·
τὸ γὰρ ἀπεπέτῃ καὶ κατηγορίας ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ διώρθωται
τῷ δράματι.

² Fragm. 436 (Nauck). If we read *σέβειν*
for *σέβειν* with Gomperz, it does not perceptibly
alter the sense. The preceding context may
have accounted for some apparently missing
word.

³ Fragm. 440.

⁴ Fragm. 442. The text given follows that
quoted by Stobaeus.

⁵ Fragm. 448.

been quite clear to its hearers that the moral it pointed was the same, and an outcry against such an opportunist view of the sanctity of oaths and promises was the inevitable result.

It was made the main head of an accusation of impiety against the author.²

It is now for us to show how our suggestion would account for the points we have raised in our rapid survey of the play as we have it.

If we remove the lines 887-898, the whole story of Hippolytus is contained in ll. 176-1101; a complete tale, with no mention of the oath of Poseidon in it at all.

If to this we add at the beginning the prologue of Aphrodité slightly modified (of course removing ll. 43-46) and at the end the choral ode following the departure of Hippolytus into exile and the first part of the epilogue spoken by Artemis to Theseus (ll. 1285-1312), we have a play practically complete in itself, with prologue, action, and epilogue.

Something like this may have been the original version.

The fragment (438):

τί δ', ἦν λυθῆς με διαβαλεῖς, παθεῖν σε δεῖ;

sounds just like what Hippolytus might have said to the nurse after the death of Phaedra.

In the play as we have it the nurse vanishes after ordering the servants to lift up the body of Phaedra, which has been cut down from the noose;³ but it would have been only natural for Hippolytus to approach her and ask her to testify in his favour when under the terrible accusation.

As it is, Theseus does not give him the chance of doing so: Hippolytus arrives at the palace, hears of Phaedra's death from Theseus himself, and is called upon to defend himself without preparation of any kind. To have the nurse called in as a witness would be to publish the very thing he had sworn to keep secret, for it would be equivalent to admitting that he—and she also—knew something that was being kept back.

It would appear that in the *Ἰππόλυτος*

καλυπτόμενος this situation was dealt with otherwise.

Let us now suppose the original story modified and the Poseidon part grafted in—prologue, epilogue, and the lines 887-898. We must admit that thus the whole Poseidon story has been introduced with a minimum of alteration to the body of the original play. The beginning and the end of an Euripidean drama were always notoriously outside the real action and not meant to be taken seriously by the audience, and the addition in the middle is a mere interpolation not involving any change in the scenes either before or after.

Having introduced this story the attention of the audience had to be directed to it, and to the fact that it was in some sort a parallel among the gods of what the rest of the play itself was amongst men. How was this to be effected?

Unless some very drastic step was taken, the Athenian public, now thoroughly used to the methods of their Euripides (it was now ten years since the *Alkestis* had been first performed, we may remember), would certainly give but scant attention to the prologue; looking for the interest to begin after the first song of the chorus. Something had to be done. And it was done.

The arresting lyric we have previously noticed was introduced!

This, which marks the difference between the original *Hippolytus* and this amended version, was therefore fixed upon with reason by the grammarians as a means of distinguishing the two: hence *Στεφανηφόρος*. The name *καλυπτόμενος*, assuming that Hippolytus died in the original version as he does in the one we possess, might of course apply to either.

To return to the prologue of our play. The two lines spoken by Hippolytus' follower are calculated to fix the attention even more.⁴ Then comes the mention of a law, a law of men, which we are to notice may or may not apply to gods as well. Now what is this law? It is obviously not the thing the man speaks of: we have already noticed that that cannot be called a law or even a rule, and in any case he proceeds at once to misapply it in a way that does not emphasise its point—if it has one.

¹ Aristophanes, *Frogs*, ll. 102 and 1471, etc.

² Aristotle, *Rhet.* III. 15.

³ Ll. 786-7.

⁴ Ll. 88-9

But then why attract the attention of the audience to it so carefully?

We have probably said enough already for the reader to have realised, what the Athenian public would very quickly discover, that the law referred to is none other than that of the sanctity of oaths and promises, binding to men as to gods.¹

And in interpreting this law, as in other things, σοφωτέρους χρὴ βροτῶν εἶναι θεούς.²

This last phrase receives great emphasis: no less than that of being the last line of the prologue, before the entry of the chorus.

The line in which Hippolytus professes himself unbound by his oath must have at once made a deep impression on his hearers; and their feelings must have been of unmitigated condemnation, for there is no excuse whatever for Hippolytus to break his word here, except to pose as an unusually pure-minded man—we should say, to behave like a prig.

It is possible that later on in the play, when difficulties hedge him about (l. 1060), the audience will call to mind this sudden exclamation and be perhaps almost inclined to admit that if Hippolytus acted on it then he would be doing well.

Now we come to the point where the finding of the fatal tablet brings up the Poseidon episode. It is this which is going to bring about the death of Hippolytus, but at the same time it must be interpolated so as not to interfere with the story as it stands—with sentence of exile as the punishment imposed by Theseus on his erring son. If Theseus calls on his father Poseidon to perform an oath he has solemnly sworn to him by slaying Hippolytus in fulfilment of one of the three wishes, there is obviously no necessity to pass a sentence of exile on him as well.

But Euripides knows what he is about. This is where the neat thrust

at Poseidon, the god of Delphi, is to come in. He makes Theseus doubt whether the god will keep his word! The masterly skill of this piece of insolence—one can call it no less—is worth considering.

Firstly, it does away at a stroke with the necessity for making any further mention of the oath in the body of the play, even to Hippolytus himself; for why should Theseus take any further notice of an imprecation uttered suddenly in a moment of stress and of whose power to harm he is himself doubtful?

In the second place, it points out in the neatest manner possible the uncomfortable position of Poseidon: for either he stands by his oath, and in that case he is sending to his death a man whom he, as a god, knows to be innocent and to have fallen under the curse owing to a misapprehension on Theseus' part; or else, availing himself of the superior wisdom of a god (σοφωτέρους γὰρ χρὴ βροτῶν εἶναι θεούς!), he stays his hand, and so doing breaks his own solemn oath.

It is a situation calculated to make the intellectual Athenian chuckle with joy as soon as it dawned upon him: and the doubt expressed by Theseus in so many words was just what was required to make him realise it.

A few moments later we behold Hippolytus in a similar quandary (l. 1060): if he keeps his mouth shut he goes into exile under the accusation, apparently proved up to the hilt by the tablet and practically unanswered by himself, of treachery and immodesty—the two sins of all that he holds to be the worst, as we know; if he speaks, he breaks his oath.

His reflection that even if he did speak he could not convince his father is obviously inserted by Euripides to point out the direct contrary: for was not his father even then discussing the matter with him, and was not the nurse a living witness of the truth? Theseus' words about 'voiceless witnesses' must have sounded very bitter.

With the departure of Hippolytus into exile and the entry of the Messenger and recital of his cock-and-bull—or, rather, wave-and-bull—yarn, the audience must have realised that the human part of the play was at an end.

In fact, Artemis appears.

¹ Paul Decharme, *Euripide et l'Esprit de son Théâtre*, p. 101: 'Cette obligation (du serment) passait jadis pour si forte qu'elle enchaînait, disait-on, les dieux eux-mêmes.' He quotes *Theog.* 793 in support, but overlooks the Poseidon episode in the *Hippolytus*.

² Cf. Eur. *I.A.* 394:

οἱ γὰρ δάσυντον τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔχει συνέναι
τοὺς κακῶς παγέντας ὄρκους καὶ κατηγορακασμένους.

Her statement of the facts is divided by Theseus' exclamation just at the point where the human story ends and the 'divine' story—the Poseidon part—is about to begin. Attention is thus brought to it again.

The line of action adopted by Poseidon in abiding by his oath and sacrificing the innocent Hippolytus is ironically approved, as is that of Hippolytus in keeping silence and sacrificing himself: the whole blame is for a moment—and most reasonably too—put on Theseus himself for pronouncing the curse in such a hurry in the first place.

But no, after all, it's really Aphrodite's fault, not his, so he needn't worry about it. This is the epilogue, and 'the gods,' as usual, are having a bad time of it. The Athenians are smiling.

Having three times already drawn attention to the Poseidon story by bits of sheer bravado—first in the lyric ode in the prologue, then by making Theseus openly doubt the god's solemn oath, and lastly by making him interpose an apparently casual exclamation in Artemis's discourse, Euripides now gives us what is perhaps the most daring and clever piece of stage work in the whole play.

Hippolytus, who knows nothing whatever of the curse Theseus has called down upon him, suddenly cries out:

ὦ δῶρα πατρός σου Ποσειδῶνος πικρά.

He could not be thinking of the three wishes. What did he mean? The

explanation is really obvious. He has recognised in the wave-cum-bull combination—as who would not?—some device of the sea-god's, and hence his own accident as a 'bitter gift of Poseidon'!

And the remark of Theseus, who, like the audience, thinks at once of the three wishes,

ὡς μήποτε ἔλθειν ὦφελ' εἰς τοῦμόν στόμα

comes as a veritable bombshell to him.

He only now realises what Theseus has done.

τί δ'; ἔκτανές τ' αὖ μ', ὡς τότ' ἦσθ' ὠργισμένοι,

which we would translate:

What? Wouldst thou have slain me? Thou wert then so much angered!

Theseus groans, 'The gods deceived me.' Hippolytus, in the sudden revelation of the injury which has been done, expresses a lively desire to curse the gods at large—and no wonder!

The effect of this culminating scene on the quick Athenians must have been electrical, and the tumult of cheering that broke out at the end, though gracefully taken by Euripides as a tribute to the memory of Pericles, must have been a whole-hearted testimony, confirmed by the bestowal of the first prize, to one of the finest pieces of work of the most consummate artist of the antique stage.

J. A. S.

Capreac, 1918.

THE MEANING OF ΩΣ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΕ.

IN Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* (vol. i. p. 21, ll. 17-8, Stählin: 24 Potter), we read, "Ἀρης γοῦν ὁ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ὡς οἶόν τε, τιμημένος, which the Ante-Nicene Christian Library (*Clem. Alex.* i. p. 37) translates thus: 'Mars, accordingly, who by the poets is held in the highest possible honour.' This is closely related to the Latin version in Migne, 'Mars, qui a poetis summo in honore habitus est,' but it seems clearly wrong. For Ares is not conspicuously honoured in the Greek poets; least of all in Homer, whom Clement has specially in mind at this point, since he goes on to quote

Iliad v. 31 and 385-7, lines which contain the epithets βροτολογιγός and μαιφόνος, to which Clement himself adds ἀνάρσιος and the Homeric ἀλλοπρόσ-αλλος. Further, this rendering makes ὡς οἶόν τε the equivalent of ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα. But ὡς οἶόν τε occurs, as a separate phrase, in two other places of Clement, iii. *Strom.* (Stäh. ii. 208, 22-3: 524 P) and iv. *Strom.* (Stäh. ii. 249, 15-6: 564 P). The first of these runs, παραχαράσσοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, μᾶλλον δὲ κατασκάπτοντες ὡς οἶόν τε αὐτοῖς: 'falsifying the truth, or rather, uprooting it so far as they can.' The second is, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων παρα-

τιθέμενοι καὶ ὥς οἷόν τε ἡμῖν διαλύεσθαι πειρώμενοι: 'quoting the opinions even of the heretics and trying, *so far as we can*, to demolish them.' In each of these passages ὥς οἷόν τε has a limiting force: it suggests the attempt to do something which cannot be done completely, stress being laid rather on what is impossible than on what is possible. There is no need, therefore, to insert a superlative in the rendering, which for our first passage should run, 'Ares, for instance, who is honoured, *so far as that is possible*, in the poets . . .' Clement is in a satirical mood, and he means that the poets do their best to honour Ares, in spite of his unattractive character.

The phrase is used several times by Lucian, the older contemporary of Clement. In *Imagines* 3 we read: τὸ εἶδος ὥς οἷόν τε ὑπόδειξον τῷ λόγῳ, 'describe (her) form *as best you can*.' Again, in *Nigrinus* 32: εἰ γάρ τοι, ἔφη, τῇ πνοῇ τῶν ἰων τε καὶ ῥόδων χαίρουσιν, ὑπὸ τῇ ῥινὶ μάλιστα ἔχρην αὐτοὺς στέφεσθαι παρ' αὐτὴν ὥς οἷόν τε τὴν ἀναπνοήν, i.e. the fittest place for garlands would be below the nose, 'as close as you can get to the breath.' So in *Charon* 22 Hermes is asked why men are burning food in front of the tombs. He answers: πεπιστεύκασι γοῦν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπεμπομένας κάτωθεν δειπνεῖν μὲν ὥς οἷόν τε περιπετομένας τὴν κυῖσαν καὶ τὸν καπνόν, πινεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βόθρου τὸ μελίκρατον. Fowler translates (Lucian i. p. 181), 'But the idea is, that the shades come up, and get as close as they can, and feed . . .' Here the stress is laid on the nearness of the shades' approach; and in fact a μάλιστα has been supplied, because ὥς οἷόν τε is taken with περιπετομένας. It seems, however, to belong to δειπνεῖν, which it limits in the same way as we have seen in the former examples—'the shades come up from below, flit around, and feed *as best they can* on the steam and the smoke . . .' Hermes feels how odd it is to talk of disembodied spirits feeding,¹ so he adds ὥς οἷόν τε as a reservation. Two other instances from Lucian give the same meaning: *De*

mercede conductis 42—ψιλὴν ὥς οἷόν τε σοὶ ἐπιδείξω τὴν εἰκόνα—' (since I cannot find an Apelles or a Parrhasius), I will sketch the picture for you in outline *as best I can*': and *Icaromeniphrus* 11, ὥς οἷόν τε ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν σελήνην . . . συνεπισκόπει τὴν ὅλην τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς διαθεσιν—'do your best to get up to the moon, and join me in surveying all the affairs of earth.'

From Clement, who was steeped in Plato,² and Lucian, a master of Attic Greek, we should naturally expect to travel back to the great classical writers. There is a clear example in Aristotle, *Politics*, ε 1313 A 39: ἔστι δὲ τὰ τε πάλα λεχθέντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν, ὥς οἷόν τε, τῆς τυραννίδος, τὸ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κολοῦναι κ.τ.λ. The Berlin Aristotle attaches a critical note: οἷόν τε] nonne οἰονται?—but the suspicion is needless. Welldon translates (*Politics* viii. c. 11): 'I refer to the measures mentioned in an earlier part of this treatise for the preservation of tyranny, *as far as is possible*, viz. the practice of cutting off the prominent characters . . .' Jowett gives the same meaning (*Politics*, v. c. 11), 'in *so far as this is possible*.' Newman, in a note on the passage (*Arist. Politics*, vol. iv. p. 451), says, 'as much as is possible.' Stephanus' Thesaurus refers us to Demosthenes (s.v. οἶος: ὥς οἷόν τε ap. Dem., quod exp. Pro virili parte), but I can find only a single example in him, though ὥς οἷόν τε with a superlative is common enough. The one example is, however, interesting. In the speech *On the Chersonesus* 75 we read: εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν εἶπεν ὥς οἷόν τε τὰ ἄριστα, ὥσπερ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ. Cobet bracketed τὰ before ἄριστα, and S. H. Butcher in the Oxford text (*Dem.* vol. i. p. 108) follows him. But the τὰ is surely needed. λέγειν or εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα or τὸ βέλτιστον occurs no less than five times in the last three pages of this speech, as a description of the orator's work. τὰ ἄριστα is an alternative for this,³ and ὥς οἷόν τε stands

¹ An illustration of Clement's dependence on Plato will be found in my article on 'Clement of Alexandria's *Protrepticus* and the *Phaedrus* of Plato' in the *Classical Quarterly*, October, 1916.

² λέγειν or εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα is common throughout Demosthenes. Apart from the in-

³ So Charon in the next sentence: 'Εκείνους ἔτι πίνειν ἢ ἐσθίειν, ὧν τὰ κρανία ξηρότατα;

by itself as a limiting phrase. The passage should therefore be rendered: 'if the orator had given, *so far as in him lay*, the best advice, as in fact he did, . . .' This is supported by the closing words of section 75, of which the general sense (the text is probably corrupt) is thus given by C. R. Kennedy: 'for action look to yourselves, to the orator for the best instruction *in his power*'; and by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge: 'for the actions you must look to yourselves; from the speaker you must require that he give you *the best counsel he can*.' Whether this meaning is in the text as it stands—*τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε, τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα ἐπιστήμη λέγειν παρὰ τοῦ παριόντος*—or whether we must resort to conjecture for it, it seems to correspond exactly to the *εἶπεν ὡς οἶόν τε τὰ ἀρίστα* a few lines above.

Turning to Plato, we note a well-known passage, *Rep.* iii. 387 B-C., given as follows in Burnet's Oxford text: *οὐκοῦν ἔτι καὶ τὰ περὶ ταῦτα ὀνόματα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ τε καὶ φοβερά ὑποβλητέα, Κωκυτοὺς τε καὶ Στύγας καὶ ἐνέρους καὶ ἀλίβαντας, καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα τούτου τοῦ τύπου ὀνομαζόμενα φρίττειν δὴ ποιεῖ ὡς οἴεται πάντας τοὺς ἀκρόντας*. For *ὡς οἴεται* there is a reading *ὡς οἶόν τε*, supported by Bekker's *q* and four inferior MSS. Hertz and Adam expunge *ὡς οἴεται* altogether, as the gloss of some Christian reader, meaning 'as he (*i.e.* Plato) imagines': the author of the gloss wished to show that

stance under consideration, *τὰ ἀρίστα* or *τὰρίστα* occurs four times in the *De Corona*, but not elsewhere. Demosthenes uses it in these places with *πράττειν*, not with *λέγειν* or *εἰπεῖν*. But that the distinction is of the slightest is shown by *De Corona* 57, *πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστα*, which is followed in 59 by *λέγειν καὶ πρᾶττειν τὰ ἀρίστα*. In *Chersonesus* 75 Demosthenes may well have departed from his usual custom, both for the sake of variety, and, more especially, because he is here maintaining that the orator's words are a necessary part of the citizens' act (*οὐκοῦν εἶπε μὲν ταῦθ' ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἐποιήσατε δ' ὑμεῖς ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐπράχθη*). When words are regarded as deeds, the speaker may fitly adopt for the one the construction that he usually reserves for the other.

he could read such names without shivering. Jowett and Campbell (vol. iii. pp. 111-2) consider *ὡς οἶόν τε* probably genuine, and its meaning to be the same as *ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα* found elsewhere in Plato (*cp. Prot.* 349 E). Liddell and Scott apparently take this view (*s.v.* *οἶος* iii. 3), and Davies and Vaughan's translation is based upon it: 'the mention of which makes men shudder to the last degree of fear.' But why should *μάλιστα* be omitted? The phrase will stand without it, and bear its usual and well-defined meaning. Plato is not likely to have said unreservedly that the names of certain mythical terrors and monsters make all men shudder. He qualifies his statement. That is their aim and tendency. They *do their best* to terrify the hearers. In the case of children, whose education is now under consideration, they would certainly terrify, and cause the children to grow up timid. Of course they would not frighten philosophers.

The confusion between *οἶόν τε* and *οἶονται* in MSS. is well known (see Adam on Plato, *Rep.* ii. 358 E, where he refers to Schneider on *Rep.* i. 329 E. See also Isaeus xi. 20, p. 157 Wyse). *οἶονται* would readily change to *οἴεται*, where the sense seemed to demand it. It would be easy to conjecture *οἶονται* for *οἶόν τε* in Clement, *Protr.* p. 21, ll. 17-8 (Stäh.), the instance from which we started; but it is more likely that where *ὡς οἶόν τε*, a comparatively rare phrase, has remained, it represents the original text, than that the plain and simple *ὡς οἶονται* should have been changed to it. The examples of *ὡς οἶόν τε* which I have adduced above from classical Greek are few, but it seems probable that they are far from exhaustive, for others may be found lurking under *ὡς οἶονται* in MSS. They are enough, however, to show that the phrase, though not common, is well authenticated, and that it bears a meaning of its own, quite distinct from that which it has when joined to a superlative.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

A SUPPOSED FRAGMENT OF THEOPHRASTUS.

MODERN editors of the *Nicomachean Ethics* give a quotation from the *Ethics* of Theophrastus, which 'is distinctly an amplification of a sentence in one of the disputed books,' viz. VII. 14, 6 (1154b, 13-14): *ἐξελαύνει δὲ ἡδονὴ λύπην ἢ τ' ἐναντία καὶ ἡ τυχοῦσα ἐὰν ἢ ἰσχυρά* (see Burnet, pp. xv and 342; also Stewart, II. p. 258).

But examination of the source of this quotation, viz. Aspasius on *E.N.* VII. 14, 5-6, suggests a doubt. Aspasius is discussing *αἰὲ πονεῖ τὸ ζῶον* (54b, 7). He attributes this view to Anaxagoras, and after declaring that it is mentioned here, not as true, but for our information, continues, as the text stands in Heylbut, p. 156,

ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδόκει γε αὐτοῖς αἰὲ ἐν πόνῳ εἶναι τὸ ζῶον. καὶ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν αἰτιᾶται Θεόφραστος ἐν Ἠθικοῖς λέγων ὅτι ἐξελαύνει ἡδονὴ λύπην and so on, as in Burnet and Stewart.

The passage from Theophrastus should, therefore, refute the doctrine of Anaxagoras. But it has, in fact, no bearing on that doctrine at all; while it is just what we might get from Aspasius himself as comment on the text *ἐξελαύνει ἡδονὴ λύπην κ.τ.λ.* I would suggest, then, that the quotation from Theophrastus has been lost (its purport may be gathered from his *de Sensibus*, §§ 31-33, in Stratton, *Greek Physiological Psychology*, pp. 92-5); and that the passage in Aspasius should be printed with the mark of a lacuna before what is now supposed to be the quotation from Theophrastus:¹ *αἰὲ γὰρ πονεῖ τὸ ζῶον, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ φυσιολόγοι λέγουσιν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀναξαγόρας ἔλεγεν αἰὲ πονεῖν τὸ ζῶον διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων. ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ὡς συγκατατιθέμενος λέγει ἀλλ' ἰστορῶν. ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδόκει γε αὐτοῖς αἰὲ ἐν πόνῳ εἶναι τὸ ζῶον. καὶ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν αἰτιᾶται Θεόφραστος ἐν Ἠθικοῖς λέγων ὅτι < . . . > ἐξελαύνει ἡδονὴ λύπην ἢ γε ἐναντία, οἷον ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ πίνειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ διψῆν, καὶ ἡ τυχοῦσα, τούτεστιν ἥτις οὖν ἂν εἴη ἰσχυρά, ὥστε ἐνίοτε*

πείναν ἐξελαύνει καὶ ἀκοῆς ἡδονή, ὅταν ἄσματος ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀκούσμασι διαφέροντως χαίρωμεν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀκόλαστοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι. ἴν' ὅλως γὰρ μὴ λυπῶνται μηδὲ ἀλγῶσι, μεγάλας καὶ σφοδράς ἡδονὰς ἑαυτοῖς πορίζουσι.

That the words *ἐξελαύνει κ.τ.λ.*, which, as the text is printed, depend on *λέγων* ὅτι, must be comment of Aspasius, not quotation from Theophrastus, would seem to have been felt by Diels, who proposed (see Heylbut, *ibid.*) to insert ὡς before Θεόφραστος. The meaning would then be (I presume),

'And Aristotle, like Theophrastus in his *Ethics*, censures Anaxagoras, saying that pleasure drives out pain,' etc.

But this reading is open to the same objection as Heylbut's text—it uses the sentence of *E.N.* *ἐξελαύνει . . . ἰσχυρά* to refute *αἰὲ πονεῖ τὸ ζῶον*, a use which is not warranted by logic nor in any way suggested by our text of *E.N.*

No doubt, if *ἐν Ἠθικοῖς* is correct, Theophrastus did deal with this view of Anaxagoras in his *Ethics*, as well as in the *de Sensibus*; and so the passage in Aspasius, even as I propose to alter it, still testifies to correspondence between the *Ethics* of Theophrastus and this tract (*E.N.* VII. cc. 11-14) on Pleasure. Yet, if there was close correspondence between the *Ethics* of Theophrastus and our *E.N.* and Aspasius had access to Theophrastus's work, it seems strange that he made so little use of it: from Heylbut's index (p. 243) he appears to mention Theophrastus only three times in the extant portion of his commentary. It is true that this may be by no means the full measure of his debt to Theophrastus; and from the same index it appears that he makes less mention of Eudemos and the Eudemian *Ethics*. Still *ἐν Ἠθικοῖς* may be a blunder, either of the MSS. or of Aspasius, replacing a reference to the *de Sensibus*. The passage in Heylbut, p. 150, 3-30 (on 1153b, 1),

Σπεύσειππον δὲ φασιν οὕτω δεικνύειν ὅτι ἡδονὴ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ., does not seem to show a great knowledge of the history of the subject.

However this may be, we should, I

¹ See Heylbut's *Aspasius*, p. 156, ll. 13-22. I underline the words that, in my opinion, represent the text of *E.N.*

submit, suppose a lacuna after λέγων ὅτι (Heylbut, p. 156, 17), which has lost us the quotation from Theophrastus; and probably not only this but also the comment of Aspasius on the first part of c. 14, § 6 (1154b, 9-13) ὁμοίως δ'

ἐν . . . εἰσὶν, a passage on which a commentator might reasonably have something to say.

C. M. MULVANY.

Queen's College,
Benares.

PHAEDRUS AND SENECA.

THOSE who whether from duty or inclination have to busy themselves with the ragged text of Phaedrus will not consider it superfluous to inquire whether any help may be won from consideration of the writings of one who in respect of age of metre and to a certain extent in subject-matter and tone stands nearest to their author. M. Havet has subjected the treatment of the iambic trimeter by the fabulist and the tragedian to a strict comparison. With this I do not deal. What he has noted outside this sphere will be included in my collections if relevant and distinctive enough for my purpose. I shall submit my material first and reserve comments and deductions for the sequel. Its illustrative value will thus be unimpaired, and its evidential force in no way prejudged.

The agreements between Phaedrus and Seneca that I shall register are firstly those of substance, that is of thought or subject-matter; and secondly those of form, that is of expression and vocabulary. The few in which there is agreement of both will naturally come in between. On the agreements to which an asterisk is attached something more will be said below.

Phaedrus I. xxiii. 3 sq. 'nocturnus cum fur panem misisset cani | obiecto temptans an cibo posset capi.'

Seneca *de Constantia Sapientis* 14. 2 'illum, quisquis erit, tamquam canem acrem obiecto cibo leniet.'

Phaedrus III. viii. 14 sqq. "'Cotidie" inquit "speculo uos uti uolo; | tu formam ne corrumpas nequitiae malis; | tu faciem ut istam moribus uincas bonis,"' cf. *ib.* 1 'praecepto monitus saepe te considera.'

Seneca *N.Q.* I. 16. 4 'inuenta sunt specula ut homo ipse se nosset, multa

ex hoc consecuturus, primum sui notitiam, deinde ad quaedam consilium; formosus ut uitaret infamiam, deformis ut sciret redimendum esse uirtutibus quicquid corpori deesset' e.q.s. (*Imitatus fortasse Phaedrum Seneca, Havet ad loc.*).

Phaedrus III. xv. The subject of this fable, the Lamb in quest of its foster-mother the Goat, is 'facit parentes bonitas, non necessitas' (v. 18).

Seneca *de Beneficiis* III. 29. 3-31 examines in the same spirit and with the same results the view that the mere gift of life is no claim upon the gratitude of a child.

Phaedrus III. xviii. and Appendix ii. 5 sqq. enumerate the characteristic excellences of various animals. The moral is that we should be content with what is assigned to us by Providence.

Seneca *de Beneficiis* II. 29. 1 sq. (cf. *Epist. Moral.* 124. 22) has a similar enumeration; and his moral is the same.

Phaedrus III. epil. 10 'nam uita mortis propior est cotidie.'

Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 120. 17 'nihil satis est morituris, immo morientibus. cotidie enim propius ab ultimo stamus.'

*Phaedrus IV. vii. 9 'fabricasset Argus opere Palladio ratem.'

Seneca *Med.* 365 sqq. 'non Palladia | compacta manu regum referens | inclita remos quaeritur Argo.'

Phaedrus IV. 10. 1-3 'Peras imposuit Iuppiter nobis duas: | propriis repletam uitiis post tergum dedit, | alienis ante pectus suspendit grauem.'

Seneca *de Ira* II. 28. 8 'aliena uitia in oculis habemus, a tergo nostra sunt.'

Phaedrus IV. vii. 25 sq. 'hoc illis dictum est qui stultitia nausiant | et, ut putentur sapere, caelum uituperant.'

Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 107 fin. 'at contra ille (animus) pusillus et degener

qui oblectatur et de ordine mundi male existimat et emendare mauult deos quam se.' For the 'querellae nausiantis animi' see *de Constantia* 10. 2.

Phaedrus IV. xvii. fin. 'Parce gaudere oportet et sensim queri, | totam quis uitam miscet dolor et gaudium.'

Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 110. 4 'si sapis, omnia humana condicione metire: simul et quod gaudes et quod times contrahe.'

*Phaedrus IV. xxii. (xxiii.) 14 "mecum" inquit "mea sunt cuncta" (cf. 25 sq.), the words of Simonides.

Seneca *de Constantia Sapientis* 5. 6 'Megara Demetrius ceperat cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. ab hoc Stilbon' (should be Stilpon) 'et philosophus interrogatus num aliquid perdidisset; "Nihil;" inquit "omnia mea mecum sunt," and so again in *Epist. Moral.* 9. 18 sq. at somewhat greater length (compare Diogenes Laertius 2. 11. 4).

Phaedrus *ibidem* 14 sq. 'tunc pauci enantant | quia plures onere degrauati perierunt.'

Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 22. 12 'nemo cum sarcinis enatat.'

Phaedrus IV. epil. 3 sq. 'Sed temperatae suauēs sunt argutiae, | immodicae offendunt.'

Seneca *de Constantia Sapientis* 16 fin. 'iocis temperatis delectamur, immodicis irascimur.'

Phaedrus V. vi. 1 sqq. 'Inuenit caluus forte in triuio pectinem. | accessit alter, aequē defectus pilis. | "Heia!" inquit "in commune quodcumque est lucri."'

Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 119 init. 'Quotiens aliquid inueni, non exspecto donec dicas "in commune:" ipse mihi dico.'

Phaedrus *Appendix Perottina* ii. 1 sq. 'Arbitrio si Natura finxisset meo | genus mortale, longe foret instructius.'

Seneca *Oedipus* 882 (903) sq. 'Fata si liceat mihi | fingere arbitrio meo.'

*'alte cinctus' Phaedrus II. v. 11. So Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 33. 2, 92. 35.

'auocare' 'distract' Phaedrus *App. P.* xiv. 26. So Seneca *ad Polybium* 17. 6 and elsewhere.

'delicium' Phaedrus IV. i. 8. 'delicium' and 'deliciolum' Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 12. 3.

'fatigare caelum' Phaedrus IV. xx.

(xxi.) 24. Seneca 'fatigare deos' *Epist. Moral.* 31. 5.

'immolare = occidere' Phaedrus IV. vi. 9. Seneca *N.Q. l.c.* § 9.

*'inuoluere ingenium' Phaedrus IV. vii. 14. Seneca 'cor inuolutum' *N.Q. I. Praef.* 6.

*'meliusculus' of good looks Phaedrus *App.* xv. 7. Seneca *de Beneficiis* I. 3. 9.

'nasutē' or 'nasutē' Phaedrus IV. 7. 1. 'nasutē' Seneca *de Beneficiis* V. 6. 6.

'persto' of slaves kept standing at their posts Phaedrus *App. P.* xviii. 8. So Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 47. 8.

'petra' Phaedrus *App.* xx. 2. Seneca *Agam.* 468.

*'prospicere' 'catch sight of' 'get a glimpse of' Phaedrus *App.* xiii. 16. Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 79. 12, 83. 1.

'retorridus' Phaedrus IV. ii. 16 (*Met.*). Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 12. 2 and other places (Summers *ad loc.*).

*'strigare' Phaedrus III. vi. 9. Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 31. 4.

'strophā' Phaedrus I. xiv. 4. Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 26. 5.

The tragedies of Seneca present in two or three instances iambic lines which in expression and structure recall senarii of Phaedrus. M. Havet cites 'irato impetu' ending a verse in Phaedrus III. 11. 14 ('horrendo impetu' in I. xi. 10) and Seneca *Troad.* 1159. Similarly 'scelere funesto domum' III. 10. 50 and 'caede funesta domum' Seneca *Phaedra* 1275. Also III. prol. 58 'qui saxa cantu mouit et domuit leras' and Seneca *Medea* 229 'qui saxa cantu mulcet et siluas trahit.' Another correspondence is noticed below.

The following observations arise out of the material. In IV. vii. 9 'opere Palladio' has been changed by L. Mueller and others to 'opera Palladia' on the ground that Pallas is not generally represented as working at the Argo. M. Havet has defended the text by Claudian *Bell. Pollent.* 18. The parallel from Seneca is nearer.

Consideration of IV. xxii. (xxiii.) raises an interesting question. The dictum 'omnia mea mecum sunt' is given by the fabulist to Simonides and by the philosopher to Stilpon. Is this

due to independent use of different sources or is the philosopher consciously correcting a predecessor? This would certainly be in the Annaean manner; compare what is said about Lucan in my Introduction to Book VIII. p. xxxvi, n. 4. The true authorship of the *mot* it is not very easy nor vastly important to determine. The poet may be right in ascribing it to a poet, and the philosopher to whom the philosopher assigns it may have borrowed or repeated it. It is not altogether irrelevant to add that Seneca shows himself aware of the difference between two notabilities, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Demetrius Phalereus, whom our author has confused in a passage corruptly given in our texts. V. I. 1 sq.:

Demetrius qui dictus est Phalereus
Athenas occupavit imperio improbo.

Even with the present reading of ver. 1 the blunder (the converse form of which appears in Aelian *Var. Hist.* 9. 9, so that it may have been taken over by Phaedrus from some Greek) is undeniable; compare in addition to ver. 2 the 'tyrannus' of ver. 14 and the 'qua sunt oppressi manum' of ver. 5. But it comes into clearer light when that verse is corrected. The vulgate reading is faulty on two accounts. In the first place, it neglects an important part of the MS. evidence. 'Demetrius qui' is the reading of the *Pithocanus* and the Perottine MSS., but in the lost *Remensis rex* was added after 'Demetrius,' and that this is no corruption is shown by its appearance in the heading of the poem in the *Pithocanus* 'Demetrius Rex et Menander Poeta.' In the second place the scansion Phalerēus (from Greek Φαληρέυς) is unexampled in Latin verse.

Professor Housman on Manilius I. 350 has already disposed of all the examples by which M. Havet (*ad loc.*) has sought to defend it; and it only remains here to write in conformity with the indications of the MSS.:

Demetrius rex qui Phalereus dictus est.

Changes of the order of words to one more easy or more familiar are common enough in the tradition of Phaedrus. 'Alticinctis' is the received reading at

II. v. 11 'ex alticinctis unus atriensibus.' It is however weakly supported by the MSS.; for both P and R divide it 'alticinctis' and the MSS. of Phaedrus confuse *e* and *i* perpetually. Apart from this the word has nothing to rest on except a gloss of uncertain origin and value 'ἀνεσταλμένος, alticinctus' *Corp. Gl.* II. 226, which can hardly be set against the consistent usage of Horace, Seneca, whom I cite because M. Havet says 'sic metro coactus Hor. S. II. 8. 10,' and Petronius. Phaedrus shows no liking for such compounds as *alticinctus* as we may infer from his 'sus nemoris cultrix' II. iv. 3 by the side of Catullus's 'cerua siluicultrix . . . aper nemoriuagus.'

IV. vii. 14 'saeuum ingenium uariis inuoluens modis' has been altered in various ways, Guyet and Heinsius conjecturing *euoluens* and M. Havet *conuoluens*. But Seneca's phrase seems to show that it may stand, though *dolis* (Heinsius) would be an improvement on *modis*.

App. xv. 7 'adeone per me uideor tibi meliuscula?' M. Havet's *uenustula* is elegant and has proved attractive. But that it is not necessary on the ground of metre he admits himself, and *meliusculus*, like *bonus* (Catullus 37. 19; cf. Propertius II. 28. 12 and elsewhere) was colloquially used of 'good' looks.

In *App.* xiii. 16 'paulum reclusis foribus miles prospicit' the usage of Seneca, and especially that in *Ep.* 83. 1 'tamquam aliquis in pectus intimum prospicere possit,' leads me now to doubt my 'perspicit,' although accepted by Dr. Gow and commended by Professor Housman (*C.R.* XIV. p. 467).

In II. v. 23 'tum sic iocata est tanta maiestas ducis' Pithou's *tanti* has been widely accepted without sufficient reason, as we may see from Seneca *Herc. F.* 721 sq. 'in quo superbo digerit uultu sedens | animas recentes *dira maiestas* dei' (with Leo's repunctuation); cf. for the metrical turn *Phaedra* 915, 'ubi uultus ille et *ficta maiestas uiri*.' M. Havet's citation of 'tanto duce' from Martial XI. 8. 6 by no means shows that in a writer with Phaedrus's weakness for abstract nouns *tanta* cannot agree with *maiestas*.

III. vi. 9 *tricanandum* is the reading.

generally adopted from PR, but the meaning of 'shirking' is neither properly attested nor sufficiently appropriate to the passage, nor again does it explain the *tardandum* of N (an explanation of *strigandum*) nor the *saltandum* of V. It appears to be simply a corruption easy enough of *strigandum* (the conjecture of Gruter and Salmasius) for which compare App. *Vergiliana Catal.* 10 (8) 19.

On *sine mercede* in IV. ii. 8 'hoc ne locutus sine mercede existimer, | fabelam adiciam de mustela et muribus' which has driven the commentators to most contorted interpretations. I briefly wrote in the *Classical Quarterly* of April, 1918, p. 91: 'Sometimes the gloss may be detected by its senselessness. So "sine mercede" IV. 2. 8 which should be *gratuito*.' My view was that Phaedrus here meant to say he would show in his accustomed manner by means of a fable that the dictum 'appearances deceive' was no uncalled-for and idle utterance, and that the *gratuito* which he used in the sense of 'causelessly', 'without motive', 'unwarrantably' (cf. Sallust *Cat.* 16. 3 '*gratuito* potius malus atque crudelis erat,' '*gratuitum* odium' Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 105. 3 and '*gratis* anhelans' of the officious and uncalled-for attentions of the *atriensis* in II. v. 3) was misinterpreted by some scribe; whose infelicitous comment 'without fee' or 'remuneration' had crept into the text. This might well have happened. But that Phaedrus may here have deviated from his practice and have represented the following fable as a 'fee' or payment for attention to his moralising seems also possible when we compare a curious procedure of Seneca in the first three books of his *Moral Epistles*. At the end of all but every letter he adds an 'aureum dictum' as we might call it, some pithy or weighty saying which he frequently calls its '*mercedula*,' '*peculium*,' '*munus*' or '*munusculum*.' It is enough to quote 8. 7 '*sed iam finis faciendus est et aliquid, ut institui, pro hac epistula dependendum*,' 10. 5 '*ut more meo cum aliquo munusculo epistulam mittam*,' 12. 10 '*sed iam debeo epistulam includere. sic*' inquis '*sine ullo ad me peculio ueniet*,' 15. 9 '*una mercedula et*

unum graecum ad haec beneficia accedet, ecce insigne praeceptum' e.q.s.

Having thus set out not indeed the whole but probably the greater and most noteworthy part of the correspondences between Seneca and Phaedrus, and having considered their value to an editor of the fabulist, we may turn to the question of their inner significance. We may note two facts to begin with. They are almost all to be found in the books that follow the first. We cannot indeed assign to their proper places the fables contained in the Perottine Appendix; but thus much we know, that the imperfect manuscript from which they were drawn contained no fable earlier than II. vi. Next the similarities in diction seem to be largely colloquialisms, and as such might be due to Seneca and Phaedrus using a common style. Are we to stop here and neither assert nor deny that they indicate that the Fables were known to the philosopher? Before we can decide we must consider the other factors in the question.

Martial was aware of Phaedrus III. 20. 5 'an aemulatur improbi iocos Phaedri?' Our conviction that this verse refers to our Phaedrus is not shaken by the astounding declaration of Friedlaender, *ad loc.* that the Fables are neither '*ioci*' nor in any sense '*improbi*.' That the Fables were not '*ioci*' to Friedlaender is a matter of no importance; we know that Phaedrus thought them such; Prologue to Book I. '*duplex libelli dos est quod risum monet | et quod prudenti uitam consilio mouet . . . | fictis iocari nos meminerit fabulis*.' And if some of his pieces are not '*improbi*' Ag. I. xviii, xxix.; III. iii. xi.; IV. xv. xviii. with others, it is hard to see what sense attaches to the word. But indeed there is no necessity to argue the question; for Martial according to a custom by no means rare in the literary references of Roman poetry has pointed his allusions to the works of Phaedrus by using words *iocus* and *improbus*, that his readers would recognise as special favourites of that writer.¹ Of this 'semi-quotation,' as

¹ *iocus* with its congeners occurs some eleven times, *improbus* (with *improbitas*) some seventeen times in the extant Fables.

we may call it, Statius has more than one example; *Silvae* I. 2. 252-255 (of Propertius and Tibullus) and several passages in II. 7 (the birthday ode to Lucan).

Quintilian will be our second witness. For we can hardly doubt that the *poeta* of *Inst. Or.* I. 9. 2 who composed 'Aesopi fabellas . . . sermone puro et nihil se supra modum extollente' and whose 'gracilitas' is to be reproduced in the school exercises was Phaedrus.¹ The Fables then, or rather a selection from them, were a schoolbook at Rome towards the end of the first century A.D. When they attained to this deadly distinction we cannot say. For some forty years previously there is no mention of them or sign of their existence. In this dearth of data the hungry critic has turned to a well-known passage in one of the *Dialogi* of Seneca addressed to Polybius, the powerful freedman of Claudius, in the hope that he would use his influence to get the philosopher permission to return to Rome. The words are 'non audeo te eo usque producere ut fabellas quoque et *Aesopicos* logos, *intemptatum Romanis ingeniis opus*, solita tibi uenustate conectas' 8. 3. This has been rightly held to show that Seneca, writing from Corsica circa 43, the probable date of this 'dialogue,' either did not know the Fables or chose deliberately to ignore them. What we know from the Fables themselves about the times of their composition may be summed up in a sentence: Phaedrus had written fables which, if not published, had obtained such currency as to bring him under the notice of Seianus some time before the fall of the Prefect in 31; and he continued to do so till after 37, the year of Tiberius's death. It is possible that he was writing under Claudius, as IV. xiv. (a fragment in our MSS. of which the Paraphrasts have preserved the continuation) is naturally taken to

refer to Caligula. But we cannot point to anything that proves he was writing later than 41, the year of Seneca's banishment. The theory then that to this exile should be ascribed Seneca's seeming ignorance of his work lacks all solid foundation. An earlier absence in Egypt, the date of which cannot be determined, might be used to explain the paucity of coincidences with the first book of Phaedrus; but that in 43 the philosopher should have been wholly ignorant of the existence of the Fables is undeniably strange. If he were not, the statement that Aesopean Fable was a form of literature 'un-essayed by Roman talents' is hardly less astonishing. Does it mean that to Seneca Phaedrus, in spite of his pretensions (II. epil. 9), did not count because he was not a native Roman?² An odd argument for an immigrant from Spain to address to a Greek or Asiatic freedman! Or is it a conscious perversion of fact to open the way for a compliment to the powerful favourite? It would not then be out of keeping with the adulations of the Empress Messalina and the freedmen of Claudius, which we are told by Dio Cassius (51. 10. 2) Seneca afterwards out of mere shame did his best to suppress (*ἀπήλειψεν*).³

To sum up, it seems antecedently very improbable that Seneca should have remained without knowledge of all the five books of the Fables from the time of their publication to the end of his life, and the resemblances between the fabulist and the philosopher are, so

² There is little in the idioms or diction of Phaedrus to suggest the foreigner. His use of abstract nouns is certainly pushed beyond the Latin norm. Of *mehercules* in the mouth of Minerva, III. xvii. 8, M. Havet writes with reason *satīs mira uox in ore et fœmineo et diuino*, Gell. XI. 8. 3 (Gellius says it is not so used 'apud idoneos quidem scriptores,' but he might perhaps have excused it from an undoubted virago). *Gruis* for *grus* I. i. 7 offends us more. It would certainly have made Priscian 'gasp'; cf. Neue-Wagener *Formenlehre* I. p. 278. One is sorely tempted to suggest 'tandem persuasumst iure iurando grui.'

³ The questions arising out of the passage of Seneca have been carefully and soberly discussed in W. Isleib's *de Senecae Dialogo Vndecimo*, a Marburg degree dissertation of 1906.

¹ No argument can be based on the use of the common instead of the proper name. The use is both natural (cf. *δ ποιητής* in Greek) and appropriate. Phaedrus himself called his fables Aesopiac, and as only a selection from them would be included in the school anthology, there was no special call to give his name.

far as they go, not inconsistent with this conclusion. On the other hand our data are so meagre and elusive that we are not warranted in assuming that

when he wrote to Polybius in 43 he was already aware of their existence.

J. P. POSTGATE.

Liverpool.

NOTES

ΙΜΑΝΤΕΛΙΓΜΟΣ.

AT our fairs and racecourses we may make acquaintance with certain arts and mysteries of great subtlety and immense antiquity, though of this antiquity we have all too little actual proof. A learned mathematician showed us very lately that the gipsy trick of fitting five round discs on to a little round table (I saw it only the other day at our ancient fair of St. Andrews) is a matter involving very complicated geometry, and this geometry (I believe) is closely akin to that of problems which perplexed Pythagoras. I shouldn't wonder at all if the professors of thimble-rigging and the three-card trick had their little side-shows at the Olympic Games, just as at Epsom; and there is at least one of their mysteries of which we know what the Greeks called it. Its name is *ἱμαντελιγμός*, and we find it in the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux. Many of us are quite familiar with the pastime (if I may so call it), and yet the word would seem to be little known and less understood by classical scholars. The expert lays upon a table a loop or doublet of thin strap-leather, and then, folding and winding it into flat labyrinthine coils, he invites the curious to 'prick the tape'; that is to say, to insert a pin or little pointed stick (*παττάλιον*) amid the coils in such a manner that it shall be found entangled in the loop when the coils are resolved. It would seem that little skill were necessary for so doing, and that the chances of success were at least even; nevertheless, it is found on trial that, when experience twists the tape and innocence directs the pin, the tape *invariably* comes away loose without implicating the pin. Pollux's description is lucidity itself: *ὁ δὲ ἱμαντελιγμός, διπλοῦ ἱμάντος λαβυρινθώδης τίς ἐστι περιστροφή· καθ'*

ἥς ἔδει καθέντα παττάλιον τῆς διπλότης τυχεῖν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ λυθέντος [? λυθέντι] ἐμπεριέληπτο τῷ ἱμάντι τὸ παττάλιον, ἥττητο ὁ καθείς. It is noteworthy, however, that the lexicographer throws no light upon the secret of successful operation.

The subject is alluded to by Eustathius as *διπλοῦ ἱμάντος σκολία τις εἰλησις* and is briefly discussed by Meursius and by Bulangerus in their well-known treatises *De Ludis Græcorum Veterum*; but neither the Leyden Professor nor the Jesuit Father show any personal acquaintance with the subject, and Bulangerus goes obviously astray when he interprets *παττάλιον* as 'clavum vel pessulum ligneum, qui indebatur ut solveret complicationem.' Nor does Hemsterhusius come nearer to the point: 'hic mihi venit in mentem nodi Gordii, qui simili modo forsitan fuit involutus, similique solvendus?' Liddell and Scott give the brief and unsatisfactory definition '*rope-twisting, a game*'; from which we may surmise that these authors also had never been invited to 'prick the tape.' They consequently fail equally, I think, to appreciate the meaning of the derivative *ἱμαντελικτής*, in Plutarch, which word they define as a '*twister of ropes, or, metaphorically, a knotty sophist.*' That is all very well; but I imagine that the epithet, as one sophist used it of another, was more caustic and less polite. It is indeed possible that the one philosopher only meant to tell the other that he was a maker of paradoxes; but I very much fear that he had it in mind to call him a low gipsy vagabond, a card-sharper, and a thimble-rigger. Regarding which latter mystery, by the way, I take it that scholars are sufficiently informed.

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON.

ANTH. PAL., BOOK V., No. 6.

Λύχνη, σέ γὰρ παρεούσα τρίς ὤμοσεν Ἡράκλεια
ἤξει, κούχῃ ἤκει· Λύχνη, σὺ δ' εἰ Θεὸς εἶ,
τὴν δολίην ἀπάμυνον· δταν φίλον ἔνδον ἔχουσα
παῖσιν, ἀποσβεσθεῖς μηκέτι φῶς πάρεχε.

THE σέ of line 1 is clearly the accusative of the thing sworn by. The δολίη swore by the lamp, and Asclepiades, stung by the ἐπιωρκία, calls upon this same lamp, if it really is a god and can be sworn by, to take vengeance upon her.

This is satisfactory enough, but what does παρεούσα mean? Mr. Paton in the Loeb edition translates 'in thy presence,' as though the participle governed, or half governed, σέ. This, of course, it cannot do, and παρεούσα taken alone (the only way it can grammatically be taken) can only mean that the lady was present when she swore—a fact which no one would be likely to dispute.

The only object of whose presence there is any question is the lamp. 'She swore in thy presence' is exactly the meaning we should like to extract from the line, and if for παρεούσα we read παρόντα, this is exactly the meaning we get.

The frequent confusion between υσ and ντ scarcely needs a mention.

M. PLATNAUER,
B.E.F.

[Stadtmüller reads πτάραντα from VI. 333. 1.—ED. C.R.]

ANTH. PAL. XII. 3.

Τῶν παίδων, Διόδωρε, τὰ προσθέματ' εἰς τρία πίπτει
σχήματα, καὶ τούτων μάνθαν' ἐπωνυμίας.
τὴν ἔτι μὲν γὰρ ἀδικτον ἀκμὴν *λαλου ὀνόμαζε·
*κωκωτὴν φυσᾶν ἄρτι καταρχομένην·
τὴν δ' ἤδη πρὸς χεῖρα σαλευομένην [λέγε] σαύραν·
τὴν δὲ τελειοτέραν, οἶδας ἂν χρὴ σε καλεῖν.

In line 4 the right reading would seem to be κώπην τὴν φυσᾶν. κώπην τὴν became κωτὴν by haplography, and then κω was doubled to fill up the line.

There is a similar use of κώπην by Automedon in Anth. Pal. XI. 29 τὴν κώπην μηκέτ' ἔχων ἐρέτης. Cf. the use of δικωπεῖν in Aristophanes, Eccl. 1091, and the double entendre in Ran. 197, κύβιζ' ἐπὶ κώπην.

“[Mentulam] clauum nauis uocant

Itali paedicones, il temone' (Menag. Addit Chardo); "Hodie quidem reggere il timone, guider le gouvernail" (Dübner, Anth. Pal. Vol. II. p. 431).

There is little doubt that λαλου conceals the first name of the προσθέματα, but no satisfactory emendation has been made. Faute de mieux I would propose σωλὴν' ὀνόμαζε, which has little to recommend it palaeographically, but gives good sense. The ου of λαλου may be merely a duplication of the ου of ὀνόμαζε, and with λαλ we have little to build upon.

‘σωλῆνες . . . τάσσεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μορίων.’
(Hesych.)

F. A. PROCTOR.

Corpus Christi College,
Oxford.

SOPH. ANTIGONE, 471-2.

[Chorus, interposing in Creon-Antigone Dialogue.]

471 δηλοῖ τὸ γέννημ' ὦμόν ἐξ ὠμοῦ πατρὸς
472 τῆς παιδός· εἰκεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς.

THE insertion of a period (.) at the end of the first line without any other change in the text would remove (1) the intolerable difficulty and harshness of the first sentence, with which all the commentators have wrestled. (2) The strained use of δέ, where, with the traditional punctuation, the reader expects γὰρ or καί.

τῆς παιδός· becomes an exclamatory genitive, 'Poor child!' to which τῆς δοσσεβείας (!) in Euripides' Bacchae 263, affords a sufficiently close parallel. We may point the two lines as follows:

471 δηλοῖ τὸ γέννημ' ὦμόν ἐξ ὠμοῦ πατρὸς.
472 τῆς παιδός· εἰκεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς.

yielding the very satisfactory meaning, suitable to the attitude of the Antigone Chorus, and avoiding the scarcely Sophoclean anacoluthon of the commonly accepted renderings:

The uncouth offspring shows its uncouth parentage.

Poor child! but she is all unskilled to bow before calamity.

(Cf. νεάτον γέννημα, l. 623.)

AESCHYLUS, *EUMENIDES* 864-5.

θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος, οὐ μὲν τις παρών,
 ἐν ᾧ τις ἔσται δεινός εὐκλείας ἔρως.

THESE lines are generally taken as an encouragement of *foreign* (as distinct from *civil*) war, to provide an outlet for the martial spirit of the citizens: *i.e.* 'Let there be foreign war, and let it come without stint, for those who feel the grim desire of glory,' ἐν ᾧ being equivalent to ἐν ἐκείνῳ ᾧ and that phrase a poetical singular for plural, and the epithet δεινός a mere literary or conventional one. I should like to delete the comma of the Oxford text at παρών, to take ἐν ᾧ as *while*, and translate 'Let there be foreign war, which comes readily enough so long as men feel the grim desire of glory.'

R. B. APPLETON.

RECUA.

CHARISIUS (*Gram. Lat.* I, 6, 7, 11) mentions the diminutives *nubecula* (nubes), *specula* (spes), *recula* (res). The last may occur in the *Moretum* (65), where Simylus' small garden-plot is described: nec sumptus erat ullius [opus] sed recula curae, *i.e.* 'it was a little holding that involved no expenditure of money but only of diligence.' The MSS. have *regula*.

W. M. LINDSAY.

MARTIAL XIV. XXIX. 2.

THE maxim of the fifteenth and sixteenth century scholars in transcribing or collating a MS. was 'divinare oportet, non legere, *i.e.* 're-cast as you write.' We rightly prefer the apograph for such purposes. And even in editing a text our maxim is 'Stick to the MSS.' All maxims are bad if they turn the human mind into a roasting-jack that does not know when to stop. But, to vary the metaphor, the limpet-tactics have approved themselves in the case of the Martial text—a text for which we have the evidence always of two, and often of three, ancient editions. Professor Housman has vindicated the traditional reading of III. xciii. 20, 'prurire quid si Sattiae velit saxum?

(*C.R.* 22, 46); Professor Heraeus that of XII. lxxxii. 11, 'fumosae feret ipse prope de faece lagonae' (*Rhein. Mus.* 70, 1). What of XIV. xxix. 2 (accompanying the present of a sunshade hat or bonnet), for which we have the evidence of three ancient texts (*α, β, γ*)? The couplet runs:

in Pompeiano tecum (tectus γ) spectabo theatro.
 mandatus (nam ventus γ) populo vela negare solet.

Mandatus may be right. 'The magisterial order (*mandatum*?) has an irritating habit of forbidding the use of the huge roof-awnings on windy days when they are likely to be damaged.' 'When planning a visit to the theatre one is usually annoyed to find a notice (in a newspaper or on a bill) "No awnings to-day. By order."' But—to defy another maxim and explain 'obscurum per obscurius'—I would at least call attention to a gloss in the Cyrillus-Glossary (*C.G.L.* II. 346, 38) 'Κάροχος: mandalus.' The word (of unknown scansion) was used of the fastening of a door (*C.G.L.* III. 190, 61). May it not also have been used of the catch which, when released, allowed the awnings to be spread? The populace would owe it a grudge.

W. M. LINDSAY.

PLAUTUS CAS. 416, 814.

THAT *mala crux* was practically (like *male factum*) a single word in Latin is seen from the treatment of the phrase by Plautus, who allows an Iambic Senarius, etc., to end with *mālām crūcēm*, and often adds a qualifying adjective, *e.g.* *maxumam malam crucem*. Was there an actual compound *mala-crucia*? There is some trace of it in *Cas.* 416 (in the Scene where the lots are drawn). Olympio, when Cleustrata draws his lot and thereby assigns Casina to him, exclaims *mea <ea> est* 'she (*i.e.* Casina) is mine.' If the MSS. are right, Chalinus, his defeated rival, caps his exclamation with *mala-crucias <t> quidem*, 'the gibbet is yours,' just as Olympio had capped Chalinus' exclamation at v. 382: *Ch.* quod bonum atque fortunatum sit mihi *OL.* magnum malum, etc. Some

may think the 'riposte' would be sharper if Olympio got no further than *mea ea* and the *est* of the minuscule MSS. were an error. (The palimpsest is not in evidence.)

The second half of *Cas.* 814 was made an 'aside' of Chalinus (dressed up as Casina) in *C.R.* XIX. 110. The objection (*ibid.* 315), that a new Scene would not begin in the middle of a line, cannot stand. Beside this line:

LY. di hercle me cupiunt servatum. (Sc. iv.)
CH. iam oboluit Casinus procul,

we may place such Greek lines as:

Eur. *Iph. Aut.* 414:

MEN. φιλους τ' ἐπ' ἄλλους. ΑΓΓ. ὦ Πασιπύων
ἀνὰ,

Menand. *Epitrep.* 165:

ΣΤ. βάλλ' εἰς τὸ προκλίπιν. ΟΝ. μάγειρον βραδύ-
τερον,

and in Plautus:

Truc. 914:

PH. accipe hoc atque auferto intro. STRAB.
ubi mea amica est gentium?

In all these examples a new-comer appears and (by convention) a new Scene begins at the middle of a line. Of course the division of an Act into Scenes is, in the case of ancient dramatists, an arbitrary, editorial thing, done for the convenience of readers. Often it is more of a hindrance than a help (see the Oxford Plautus, vol. I. p. iii of Preface), as in another passage of the *Casina* which may be added to our list (vv. 278-280):

LY. propter eam rem magis armigero dat
operam de industria;
qui illum di omnes deaque perdant! CH. τέ
uxor aiebat tua—
me vocare. LY. ego enim vocari iussi. CH.
eloquere quid velis.

If we put the Scene-heading ('Sc. iv.' of Act II.) at *qui illum*, we interrupt the flow of Lysidamus' invective. If at *te uxor*, we spoil Chalinus' 'riposte.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

METONYMY IN HORACE, ODES, BOOK I. XI.

EDITORS of Horace have amused themselves by speculating why the lady to whom this ode is addressed bears the name of Leuconoe. (It is assumed

that the name is not the real name of a real person.) There appears to be a general agreement that it is a compound of λευκός and νοῦς (corresponding to a masculine λευκόνους). There is nothing impossible about the form (*cf.* Πραξινοά). But there is a difference as to whether the compound means (a) *clara* or *candida mente* or (b) 'empty-minded,' and whether it was intended to be complimentary or the reverse. No parallel to the sense of λευκός required by either view has been adduced, and it is as difficult to understand what would be meant by the compound as if such a poem was addressed in English to 'Miss Wan-wit' or 'Miss Blank-wit.'

I have never come across either Λευκονόη or Λευκόνους as personal names, nor the adjective either as masculine or as feminine. But there is a masculine adjective which is variously spelt as Λευκονοιεύς or Λευκονοσεύς (the latter being pretty certainly the correct Attic form). It was not exactly a proper name, but an Attic δημοτικόν (and, therefore, of course with no corresponding feminine form). There are some interesting points connected with it. Harpocration s.v. says that the name of the deme was Λευκονοιον; so Dindorf prints it, but adds in his note (without any reason) '*Recta nominis forma esse videtur Λευκονόη.*' Cobet (*Collectanea Critica*) points out—in my opinion correctly—that the name should be printed Λευκόν Ολον—i.e. that it is one more case of Ολον as part of the name of an Attic deme. If this is right, it is probably that Leuconoe too has nothing to do with νοῦς.

The δημοτικόν is best known in Greek literature as that of the justly respected uncle—by marriage—of Demosthenes, Demochares the son of Laches, and it is because of this that it occurs in the lexicon of Harpocration. But there is one other person—and, as far as I know, the only other—to whose name in Greek literature this δημοτικόν is attached, viz. the geometrician or astronomer Meton, the son of Pausanias, the well-known reformer of the Attic calendar (B.C. 433/2). He is familiar to us from his appearance in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, but where his deme is not mentioned, the scholiast on I. 997 quotes two lines

from the Μονότροπος of Phrynichus (which was acted in the same year as the *Birds*, B.C. 414), in which he is called Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοεύς. It is at least a singular fact that he shared with Horace's Leuconoe an interest in astronomy. Might we venture to go further, and connect his forebodings about the failure of the Sicilian expedition with his astronomical interests? Is it in any case not more probable that by Leuconoe Horace meant not 'Miss Blankwit' but 'Miss Newton'?

But as a further flight of fancy, where controlling facts are so few, it occurs to me to suggest the possibility that the young lady is herself a myth, and that the original readings were *Leuconoeu* (i.e. Meton) and (consequently) *credula*. The invitation *vina liques* seems not very appropriate as addressed to a young lady. But why should Horace have addressed his advice to that ancient mathematician? Without attempting to explain this, I may be permitted to call attention to the singular parallel of I. xxviii. Perhaps in both cases Horace is translating or imitating a Greek original. This seems not unlikely where he is experimenting with rather uncommon metres. Do not phrases like οὐ θεμιτόν and . . . Λευκονοεῦ, μὴ Βαβυλωνίους | ζητήσης ἀριθμούς almost shine through the Latin? There are curious parallels with the language of the poems of Alcaeus in the greater Asclepiad poems (δακτύλος ἄμέρα, ἔγχεε κίρναϊς κ.τ.λ.). Of course Alcaeus cannot here be Horace's direct original (more probably Callimachus?).

But that way perhaps madness lies.

J. A. SMITH.

Magdalen College, Oxford.

VIRGIL AND GREGORY OF TOURS.

Greg. Turon., *In Gloria Martyrum*, Praef., p. 448, Arndt-Krutsch: Taceo Cupidinis emissionem; non Ascanii dilectionem, hymenaeosque lacrimas vel exitia saeva Didonis, non Plutonis triste vestibulum, non *Proserpinae stuprosum raptum*, non Cerberi triforme caput, non revolvam Anchisae colloquia, non Ithaci ingenia, non Achillis argutias, non Sinonis fallacias; non ego Laocoontis consilia, non Amphitryonia-

dis robora, non *Iani conflictus fugas vel obitum exitiabile (ni) proferam*.

THE Preface of Gregory from which I have excerpted these sentences (correcting in passing the odd spelling of the saint—or of his most recent editors) is often quoted or referred to in works upon scholarship where it is desired to illustrate the mediaeval attitude towards secular literature. This may be my excuse for directing the attention of the readers of this journal to an author more often read (or so it is supposed) by the historian than by the scholar. The two clauses which I have italicised have caused difficulty to Gregory's editors. Arndt and Krutsch are at a loss to find any passage of Virgil in which there is mention of the rape of Proserpine. But *which* rape? They suppose Gregory to have had in mind, not any passage of Virgil, but Ovid, *Met.* V. 395, though of knowledge of Ovid he shows nowhere else any trace. In any case Pluto was not the only personage of ancient mythology who was guilty of a *raptus Proserpinae*; nor do I know that he was ever charged with a *stuprosum raptus*. The really discreditable *raptus Proserpinae* was that of Theseus and Pirithous; and to this crime Virgil does refer unmistakably at *Aen.* VI. 397-402, and 601.

Our editors' other difficulty is also, I think, lightly resolved. The *Aeneid* contains no word about any *conflictus, fuga* or *obitus* of Janus. They accordingly suggest *Turni* as a correction of *Iani*. But they do not tell us what they then understand by *conflictus*. Surely the true correction of *Iani* is indicated by the reference in the preceding clause to 'Amphitryoniadis robora.' Surely Gregory wrote, not *Iani*, but *Caci*.¹ What *conflictus*, then, means may be seen from *Aen.* VIII. 259-261.

H. W. GARROD.

'QUIS AQUAM NILI . . .'

THOSE to whom, like myself, the war has brought correspondence from Egypt may have been puzzled, as I

¹ Ribbeck quotes from Probus, *Inst. tantum* for *Cacum* at *Aen.* VIII. 259. For the confusion of C and I cf. *Aen.* V. 453, *iasu M¹* for *casu*.
Digitized by Google

have been, by the motto of Shephard's famous hotel at Cairo. On all note-paper and envelopes, under a design of lotus blossoms, it runs: '*Quis aquam nili bibit, aerum bibet.*' No classical authority available here could throw any light on the meaning of *aerum*, and it was not until I came across a proverb in one of Mr. Algernon Blackwood's tales of Egypt that the solution was obvious: 'He who has drunk of the water of the Nile shall return to drink of it again!' Therefore *iterum* was the word intended, and a little experiment will show that with either a plain capital or cursive *i*, it may be made closely to resemble *a* if the upright stroke of the *i* is short, and the cross continued backwards. It is strange that none of the scholars who must constantly visit the hotel should have pointed this out—not to mention the doubtful *quis*—for as it stands the motto is nonsense.

DINA PORTWAY DOBSON.

AEN. XI. 45 f. AND 152 f.

IT is difficult to add anything to what Dr. Warde Fowler has said of Aeneas' relationship to Pallas and Evander (*Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, on VIII. 520-524, especially pp. 87 f. on *contubernium* and 90 f. on *hospitium*). But two passages in Book XI., which he has not touched upon, so strongly confirm what he there says, that it seems worth while to consider them in this connexion:

Aen. XI. 45:

non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti
discedens dederam. . . .

Ibid. 152:

non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti,
cautius ut uelles saeuo te credere Marti.

The verbal correspondence between these two passages can hardly be accidental. One might even expect something of the kind: in both cases the words are those wrung by grief and pity from older men who are looking on the dead boy Pallas—from Aeneas, as he bids farewell to the body on the field, and from Evander as he receives it home.

But far more significant than the likeness is the difference—the far-reach-

ing, Virgilian difference made by the substitution of *dederas*, addressed as it is to Pallas, for the *dederat*, referring to Aeneas, which might have been expected: for Aeneas had, with characteristic chivalry, taken upon himself (*dederam*) precisely the responsibility which Evander here refuses to attribute to him.

All that has gone before tends to make this change the more remarkable. The fact that Aeneas was, in a sense, responsible for Pallas, and certainly felt himself to be so and was so regarded by others, has been repeatedly brought home to us—e.g. where Evander entrusts his son to Aeneas' care and guidance, and says he is to learn

sub te tolerare magistro
militiam et graue Martis opus (VIII. 510).

and where Turnus, after slaying Pallas on his first day of battle, bursts out with the truth in its most brutal form:

haud illi (sc. Euandro) stabunt Aeneia paruo
hospitia (X. 491).

Above all, Aeneas himself, even before the death of Pallas is known to him, is represented as strangely, not to say abnormally, preoccupied with the thought of the household in whose lives he played so fateful a part:

Pallas, Euander, in ipsis
omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas aduena primas
tunc adiit, dextraeque datae (X. 515).

This deep-seated sense of responsibility on Aeneas' part suddenly finds poignant expression in the lines quoted above (XI. 45) and in their continuation

hi nostri reditus, expectatique triumphi?
haec mea magna fides?

It was a masterly stroke which, in using the very words spoken in self-accusation by Aeneas, converted them, on Evander's lips, into the tenderest of reproaches to the dead, for whom, in truth, such a reproach could only be another form of praise.

There could be no more perfect expression whether of Evander's trust in Aeneas, or of the exquisite nobility of feeling, on both sides, which made such a trust possible. It is something of a quite different order from the merely outward and formal considerateness of his words to the Trojan strangers standing by

and from the more deliberate tribute he pays to Aeneas later on

quod uitam moror inuisam, Pallante perempto,
dextera causa tua est (*ib.* 177).

It was, we are told, largely from Classical writers that the mind of the Renaissance drew its conception of perfect courtesy, or 'courtlinesse,' as 'a happy cheyne of vertues' in which, 'besides greatnesse and courage, there are also lincked liberalitie, sumptuousnesse, the desire to save a man's estymation, pleasantnesse, courtesie in talke,' and withal 'a soft and lovelye kindnesse' (Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, translated by Hoby, 1561).

Virgil's Evander deserves, no less than his Aeneas, to have been among the types that inspired such an ideal.

M. A. B. HERFORD.

Manchester.

VIRGIL, *AEN.* I., 460.

sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.—Virg. *Aen.* I. 460.

HAS any line of poetry, ancient or modern, been so often quoted or so completely misunderstood? Dr. Mackail, in his *Latin Literature*, writes: 'In the most famous of his *single* lines he speaks of the "tears of things."' Professor Wight Duff, in his *Literary History of Rome*, translates it: 'Tears haunt the world: man's fortunes touch man's heart.' Professor Tyrrell, in his *Lectures on Latin Poetry*, speaks with admiration of 'Dr. Henry's refined and scholarly interpretation of the word "rerum" as meaning "in the world": "there are such things as tears in the world"; "tears are universal, belong to the constitution of nature, and the evils of mortality touch the heart": and then goes on to suggest a meaning 'far more definite, weighty, and distinguished,'

viz. 'E'en things inanimate can weep for us, and the works of men's hands have their own pathetic power.' Such a version as 'this is a vale of tears' is by no means unusual, and may indeed be taken as fairly representative of the sense in which this most quoted line of Virgil is usually understood. The most cursory glance at the context proves that all these interpretations are wide of the mark.

en Priamus. sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi,
sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.
solve metus: feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.

'This is a vale of tears, therefore be not afraid!' The writer is reminded of a friend, a scholar and a man of first-rate ability, who had by constant repetition hypnotised himself into the conviction that the greatest thought in *Hamlet*, if not in the whole of Shakespeare, was 'Denmark's a prison!' Can there be any question that in our passage a comma only should be printed after 'laudi,' and 'hic etiam' carried on to the following line? Apart from the requirements of sense, the double 'sunt' forces it on the ear. Aeneas, shipwrecked on an unknown shore, comes with his companion to the newly-built Carthage, and on the doors of the temple sees depicted scenes from the siege of Troy. These he points out to his companion with the reassuring remark that they are *evidently in a civilised country*, where 'men can weep for human sorrows.' Alas for Professor Tyrrell's '*Rerum* is the lonely word in which flowers all the charm of all the muses.' We are driven to the unhappy choice of either dethroning Virgil's 'greatest line' or charging him with writing great nonsense.

H. WILLIAMSON.

REVIEWS

VAN LEEUWEN'S *ENCHIRIDIUM*.

Enchiridium Dictionis Epicae, scripsit J. VAN LEEUWEN, J.F. Editio altera aucta et emendata. One vol. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ "x6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. xx+431. Lugduni Batavorum: A. W. Sitjhoff, 1918. Fl. 6.50.

THE first part of the first issue of this handbook was noticed by Professor Platt in C.R. VII. 359. Those who have been aware for some time that a second edition was in preparation will perhaps be disappointed with it in one respect. Some of them had hoped that it would be a largely expanded treatise, embodying the principal discussions which have appeared of recent years, such as Witte's papers in *Glotta* on the versification, Wackernagel's on the Atticisms, Mr. Drewitt's on the Augment, and many, many others. Dr. van Leeuwen has, however, kept to his original object, to provide a *librum iuniorum praesertim philologorum manibus destinatum*, so that *strictim tangenda quae spissa sibi poscerent volumina*. Too much was expected. If ever a comprehensive treatise on the subject is planned, it will have to be encyclopaedic like Pauly-Wissowa's *Lexikon*, but men now living need not hope to see such a Thesaurus completed.

The changes in detail in this new edition are, if I may judge from the sections tested, mostly unimportant. Thus, in the list of digammated words, though there are numerous trifling alterations, testifying to the care with which the revision has been done, the only difference worth noting seems to be the omission of *Feλεῖν*. In fact there appears to be no modification of the author's attitude, except in the *Praefatio*, where, as one had anticipated, his conversion to the Unitarian faith rendered the recasting of parts of his statement *de origine et compositione carminum epicorum* inevitable. He maintains his conclusions with the confidence of a master. Of controversy there is comparatively little, though

some theorisings of Fick, Cauer, and others are sharply exposed.

Detailed criticism, however tempting, of the contents of the book is here impossible, and it is difficult to criticise them even in a general way without touching fundamental questions which are discussed incessantly by the experts, τέλος δ' οὐ πῶ τι πέφανται. As is well known, its author's efforts, through many laborious years, have aimed at the production of a Homeric Library *in parvo*. He has edited both poems twice; in his *Commentationes* he has provided a *Wegweiser* on the Homeric Question and interesting papers on other Homeric matters; and in the present work he constructs a basis for his text. His object here is to get as near as possible to that text in its original form, and that of course requires copious emendation of the *textus receptus*. The limits of such procedure are debatable, and have indeed been much debated by editors. He himself is among the thoroughgoing purgers. But these all go too far, and make trouble for themselves. A *Fe* or a *F'* is inserted which is not quite consonant with Homeric practice, and even, it may be added, unnecessary, considering the marked freedom with which Homer omits a pronominal form, or a fourth trochee is abolished, and replaced by what proves to be only a 'Wernicke.' And then the digamma; there is surely too great readiness to improve what are called 'neglects' of *F*. They cannot all be easily and acceptably emended; you can only work away till you reach a point when you have to say the rest are in lines that are spurious, or corrupted in a way that cannot be discovered, and that is a thoroughly unsatisfactory conclusion. But are they neglects—the work, that is, of a generation who knew not the digamma? That has still to be decided. Take the class, numbering more than a third of the total, of cases in which the combination *ν* (very susceptible to modifi-

cation), ς (mobile, weak, and easily degenerating into the aspirate), or ρ (with *δύναμις φωνήεντος*), plus *F* (only a semivowel and not in its first youth), fails to make position. Need we wonder at this, when a short vowel at times is not in position, with little or no discernible excuse, and without rousing suspicion, before a combination of consonants such as $\chi\lambda$ or $\tau\rho$? And in the one case as in the other there is no ground for objection to the many occurrences in which there is a pause in the line or sense. But it is even possible that, in all these three combinations, assimilation produced *FF*, which became vocalised into a simple *v*, as in *εὔαδε, αἰέρυσαν, κανάξαις*. Such forms, Monro has suggested, were probably more frequent in the text at one time. There is something to be said for that view, and more still against the ultimate condemnation of passages, which the mere mixture of observances and neglects forbids. The cases of elision in spite of *F*, which are more numerous, present even less difficulty. In the third class the 'neglects' are few. Of course much depends on the degree of vitality to be ascribed to the *F* of Homer's day. As to that, one of the two extreme views is Jebb's, quoted by Dr. van Leeuwen, that it was a mere *soni umbra*. The other is his own, that it was *sonus vegetus et florentissimus*, but surely that is in conflict with the facts that many words had already lost the sound, and that it was weak in compound and derivative words, in proper names, in initial δF , and generally inside words. The *Verwitterungsepoche* or *Uebergangsstufe*—what Mr. Agar calls the 'in and out'—theory of other authorities seems to be the safest. It cannot be said that it is successfully refuted in the present treatise. For all the learning that has been bestowed on it, the Homeric digamma is still, in the words of the epitaph made for Joshua Barnes, *expectans iudicium*. Meanwhile, that it was, whether vigorous or senescent or quite moribund, the same to all the bards of the critics, their latest as well as their earliest, is one comforting result of recent research.

Another all-important matter for the constructor of a pristine text is that of

Contraction and Synizesis. How far is he to resolve contracted forms? Dr. van Leeuwen is all for resolution, and starts from the position that, as the original form of *γένεος* was *γένεσος*, therefore *γένους* or *γένευσ* was *alienum a priscis carminibus*. But that, even admitting the sequitur, does not help, for the *prisca carmina* were separated by a long interval from the two poems with which we are concerned. All we seem to be justified in saying is that, in this as in other respects, Homer's age was one of 'overlap.' Contracted forms were well established, but the old open forms had still a preference, with the to us very pleasing result that for every spondee there are three dactyls. There is too much abhorrence of contraction and synizesis. It seems to be a matter in which Ludwich's dictum that *Möglichkeit ist nicht Nothwendigkeit* should be borne in mind. It is interesting, by the way, to note the perplexity of those who amend freely, when they are 'up against' a harmless, necessary line such as *καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα*, and find themselves between the devil of a digamma and the deep sea of synizesis.

There are, as is well known, a number of other points on which a straining after complete uniformity has proved a weakness of Homeric linguistic inquiry. The remark might be extended to include Homeric criticism also. A practice or rule is detected or assumed, and attempts are made to show that it is absolute and subject to no exception. These never succeed without a free use of the obelus for a residuum of passages that resist inclusion in the formula. Such a desire to effect perfect consistency has not been confined to Homeric research; it has been noted and condemned in the province of language generally.

Apart from such matters, the value of the book and the debt which all *φιλόμνηροι* owe to its author are to be warmly acknowledged. The pains bestowed on making the contents complete and accurate are everywhere apparent. The references to the Homeric text are abundant, the cross-references within the work itself are extremely numerous, and the discus-

sions, always clear and sure, are greatly strengthened by constant quotations from the inscriptions and by indications of development in later Greek. An enormous amount of matter has been compressed into the volume, but its bulk has been, by various means, considerably reduced. The sections are numbered as before, so that the quotations of them, which are so useful a part of the author's editions of the poems, are not affected. The Index is not as full as the book deserves. In the old edition it sometimes failed me when hunting for a word or form.

But the book is an excellent one on a most fascinating subject. It is written, this examination of the dry bones of a language, in a style so bright and enjoyable, that I have known a Homeric student read it, not for the first time, for pure pleasure, as well as profit, in a summer vacation. That says something for its author's style and method, as well as for the charm of the marvellous language and verse of Homer. Happy the poet who had such instruments at his command, and happy we who have 28,000 lines of his matchless poetry on which philologists can work! Had only a single episode of the *Iliad* survived, or no more than

the *Menis*, εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε, what a puzzle the language and verse would have remained, and what masses of volumes would have been devoted to the elucidation of the problems presented by the meagre materials! οὐδ' ἂν νηὺς ἐκατόζυγος ἄχθος ἄροιτο. And they would have left us little wiser. As it is, the student is well provided, though he would give his ears for a few fragments of pre-Homeric Greek, and surrender even more for a well-grounded assurance that that was the tongue the Minoans spake. Scholars have done their duty. The schoolboy has excellent summaries of the grammar and versification in the editions of the poems prepared for his use. At college he finds a most admirable introduction in the late Professor Seymour's *Homeric Language and Verse*, and he passes on to the *Homeric Grammar* and the *Enchiridium*. In his riper years he will, if he has the hardihood to 'wallow beneath such thorny shade,' find a lifetime's occupation in the philological journals, and will end his days, as he ought to strive to end them, by having, to use our author's words, *Homerum ut digitos suos cognitum*.

A. SHEWAN.

SELECTED ESSAYS OF PLUTARCH.

Selected Essays of Plutarch. Vol. II. Translated with Introduction by A. O. PRICKARD. Pp. xx + 336. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. 3s. 6d. net.

THIS is a companion volume to that published by Professor Tucker in 1913, and it deserves a hearty welcome. It is to be feared that Plutarch has not many readers nowadays, and few from this small company penetrate beyond the *Lives*. Yet the *Moralia* are in many respects, as was recognised by Southey in the quotation which Mr. Prickard places on his title-page, the more valuable half of Plutarch's writings. Their value is to be attributed not so much to their literary merit, although many of these essays are pleasing

examples of skilful composition; nor to their scientific and philosophical significance, although they are among the most important authorities which we possess for our knowledge of the later Greek schools, and especially of the Stoa, as to the vividness of the picture which they present of the state of Graeco-Roman culture in the first century of our era. Plutarch himself is the best possible representative of his age. Born of a good family, he had received the most thorough education which was open to him; and he had a broad and liberal intelligence, as well as some practical experience in the administration of affairs. The variety of his interests is exhibited in the many-sidedness of the *Moralia*, whose title is justified only in so far as a considerable

proportion of its contents treats of ethical subjects.

The present volume contains several of the most interesting of the essays, including three specimens of imaginative myths inserted in the course of a dialogue, in which proceeding Plutarch followed the example of his master Plato, without copying his workmanship in detail. The dialogues in which these myths occur are the most important, as well as the most attractive in the volume. In the first, *On the Genius of Socrates*, the discussion of the *δαίμόνιον* is incidental to the main subject of the dialogue, a dramatic narrative of the conspiracy of patriotic Thebans which led to the recovery of the Cadmeia. The dialogue on *Delay in Divine Punishment*, in which Plutarch himself undertakes the rôle of chief exponent, is a defence of the workings of Providence directed against the ridicule of the Epicureans. The version of the tract *On Superstition*, which may be regarded as an appendix to the last-named dialogue, is followed by a reprint of the short discourse on the same subject by John Smith of Emmanuel and Queen's Colleges, an almost forgotten associate of the Cambridge Platonists. The third of the above-mentioned dialogues, *On the Face which appears in the Orb of the Moon*, is of a somewhat different character. It mentions a variety of opinions concerning the substance and movements of the moon and its relations to the other heavenly bodies, and may be summarily described as an Academic assault on the Stoic conception of the structure of the Cosmos. Finally, we have the three Delphic dialogues, in which Plutarch's attitude towards the traditional religion is determined by practical common-sense combined with reverence for old-established belief.

The difficulties which attend a translation of Plutarch's *Moralia* arise not only from complexity of style and obscurity of subject-matter, but chiefly perhaps from the undoubted corruption of the text. Unfortunately the critical basis has not yet been surely laid, notwithstanding the labours of Wyttenbach and Bernardakis, and the contributions in detail of other workers in the same

field. So far as his material permitted, these difficulties have been successfully overcome by Mr. Prickard. His translation is at once clear and idiomatic, as well as scholarly in method. The reader of the dialogues who uses Mr. Prickard's book will be grateful to him for the clearing up of many dark passages, for the explanatory matter of the Introductions and Notes, and for the uniformly candid presentation of his own doubts.

Mr. Prickard has used Wyttenbach's text as his basis, and professes to record all deviations from it in his footnotes. But sometimes this has not been done, as may be seen at 589F, 559D, and 933A, where the conjectures of other scholars have been rightly preferred. I regret that in *de anim.* 2 (p. 214) Wyttenbach's *καμπῆς* has been accepted without question in place of *κάμπης* (*καθάπερ ἐκ κάμπης τινὸς ἀνείσης οἶον ἐξάττειν καὶ ἀναθεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν*), with the quaint translation 'the soul darts out and runs upward, as though a bent spring had been released' (my italics). The question recurs at 611F, where also the critics strangely adhere to *καμπῆς*. I have already defended *κάμπης* in *Journ. Phil.* XXX. 214, by showing that the release of the soul from the body is compared to the escape of the butterfly from the chrysalis into which the caterpillar has passed. It should be added that the parallel of 636C, where the butterfly Psyche is mentioned, puts Plutarch's meaning beyond all doubt.

I will conclude with some suggestions on points of detail. 580F: perhaps 'insight' rather than 'wit'. 591A, B: this passage is unintelligible without a note, and the translation is not clear. The course of the Styx is circular (*ἄνω κάτω*), and *κορυφῇ* is to be explained by *Il.* 8. 369, *Hes. Theog.* 786. 593B: *χαράξαντες* not 'extracting' but 'marking off' (branding). 549D: why is *τῷ αὐτομάτῳ* rendered by 'an automaton' rather than by 'chance'? In 549E (and again in 920F) the force of the proverbial *ἀφ' ἐστίας ἀρχεσθαι* is not brought out. 556C: *προβάλλονται* ('censure') is over-translated by 'spurn their own life away.' 563E *αὐγὴν τόνον ἔχουσαν*: 'ray of a tonic force' requires explanation for a reader who is not

acquainted with the Stoic theory of tension. 389c n.: it is very unlikely that Heraclitus spoke of διακόσμησις and ἐκπύρωσις. p. 214 (*de anim.* I): εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία means not 'unless, of course,' but 'but indeed,' as in 670E and elsewhere. 167D: the translation requires correction. The moon is treated not as the claimant, but as the object of litigation (ἐπίδικος). 926D: ἐν ταύτῳ is hardly 'in a moment's flight' but 'unchanged' = κατὰ τὸ αὐτό. 928C: the words περὶ ἑαυτὴν ἀναδίδωσιν ('ad se extollit') are very strangely rendered. 941E: ἐπιεικῶς is not 'quietly,' but, as often in Plutarch, = *seve*. 942D: the words 'latter' and 'former' appear to have been accidentally transposed,

bringing confusion into the passage. 943B: the reference to Plat. *Tim.* 31B is irrelevant. It should have been explained that μονογενής was a current ἐπικλήσις of Persephone (Apoll. Rhod. 3. 848), and that it is here mystically interpreted.

Plutarch is full of quotations and reminiscences, expressed and concealed, and many of the references are supplied. But more use might have been made of the collections of Diels and von Arnim, as e.g. at 922C, 925B (where Panzerbieter's reading is much better than the text adopted), and 929C. Sometimes the references given require correction: see pp. 193, 289, 302.

A. C. PEARSON.

THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

The Greek Anthology. With an English Translation by W. R. PATON. In five volumes: Vol. IV. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, MCMXVIII. Vol. V. the same. The Loeb Classical Library.

THESE two volumes complete Mr. Paton's task, and it is the pleasing duty of a reviewer to congratulate him and his publishers on its uninterrupted progress and its rapid completion. Vol. IV. contains Books X., XI., XII. of the *Anthology*; Vol. V., Books XIII. to XV., including in a miscellaneous collection the curious arithmetical puzzles and riddles of Book XIV., the epigrams of Nicarchus, whose tone reminds one of Martial, the Τεχνοπαίγνια, and the Planudean Appendix.

Some passages in the difficult Τεχνοπαίγνια may be considered. In Simias' *Alae* 4 (*A.P.* XV. 24) Mr. Paton prints with the editors πάντα δὲ Γᾶς εἴκε φραδαῖσι λυγραῖς, but l. 3 τᾶμος ἐγὼ γὰρ γενόμεν, ἀνίκ' ἔκραυν' Ἀνάγκα would be inconsistent with this. Should we not read here πάντα δὲ τᾶς κ.τ.λ., 'to her decrees,' i.e. to Ἀνάγκα? In ll. 9, 10 there is no need to accept the two emendations of Wilamowitz ὠκυπέτας οὐδ' Ἄρεος for ὠκυπέτας δ' αἰέριος of Pal., and πραῦλόγῳ δὲ πειθοῖ for πραῦνῳ of

Pal.; all that is wanted here is πραῦνόφ, as Bergk saw.

In Dosiadas' *Ara* (*A.P.* XV. 26) 11 and 15, instead of the corrupt ἀνύξας and αἰὲ λινεύντ' which Mr. Paton prints, we may accept Salmasius' αἶν' ἰύξας and Hecker's αἰλινεύντ'.

Corrections seem necessary also in Dosiadas' *Onym.* L. 12 is incomplete with ἔχει θενῶν τὰν παναίολον Πιερίδων μονόδοῦπον αὐδάν: perhaps τὰν should be altered to γὰν, and παρθένων may have fallen out after it from its similarity to θενῶν. And certainly Jacob's ὁμόδοῦπον is preferable to μονόδοῦπον.

In l. 16 βλαχαὶ δ' οἶων . . . ἔβαν, βλαχαὶ must go the way of the 'bloody bleatings' in Aesch. *Sept.* 335; as Verrall restored βλαχᾶ there, so Mr. Edmonds rightly restored βλαχᾶ here. Mr. Paton's translation 'with a bleat' has nearly led him to the same correction.

In the same line ταυνοσφύρων ἐς ἄν' ἄντρα Νυμφῶν both prepositions cannot be right: neither is in Pal., and perhaps ὑπ' is better than either.

In l. 20 something has gone wrong: κλυτός is translated but κλυτᾶς stands in the text. The metre too seems to require ταῖς δὴ δαίμων κλυτὸς ἴσα θεοῖς.

Mention should be made of a special feature in this concluding volume. It is enriched by eighty illustrations from

marble and bronze statues, reliefs, paintings, and coins, selected by Dr. Salomon Reinach and drawn by Made-moiselle J. Evrard. It was a happy thought to draw upon the wealth of Greek art and apply it to the *Anthology*, which affords a great variety of subjects fitted for illustration from these sources.

The previous volumes of Mr. Paton's *Greek Anthology* have been reviewed in C.R. XXXI. 142, XXXII. 33, 186.

Additions to the 'List of Addenda to the "Greek Anthology,"' C.R. XXXII. p. 187.

To sect. 3 add the pentameter in *Etymol. Gen.* p. 237:

Τίς νικᾷ Παφίην ἐνθάδε λουομένην ;

Miller *ad loc.* suggests that this may be added to the Epigrams on the same subject after A P. IX. 608.

Sect. 5. 3. Dr. Rouse published this Epigram in 1906 (four years before Crönert in *Rhein. Mus.*), *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVI. p. 178. His punctuation makes much better sense than Crönert's in ll. 1, 2; but in l. 3 Crönert is perhaps right in correcting *μνήμης τι* to *τε*. With the subject of the Epigram A.P. XI. 8, Kaibel *Epigr. a Lap. collecta* 646b, and Strato A.P. XI. 19, may be compared.

Sect. 3. 1. Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion* 219, wishes to see in an epigram in a Coan inscription (Paton and Hicks, 218), where the name of one Philiscus occurs, apparently the author of the Epigram, the Philiscus mentioned in this section. But if his name has now been shown to be Philicus, how can he there call himself Philiscus?

J. U. POWELL.

St. John's, Oxford.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO.

The Geography of Strabo. With an English translation by HORACE LEONARD JONES, A.M., Ph.D. (Loeb Classical Library). Vol. I. 6½" × 4¼". Pp. xlv + 531, 1 coloured map and diagrams. London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam's Sons, 1917. 5s. net.

ON one obvious ground this edition of Strabo's *Geography* is welcome. So far as geographical research is concerned, the temperament of English-speaking peoples has expressed itself, until quite recent years, in the direction rather of exploration and discovery than in that of historical or analytical research. The results of this tendency are visible in the publications of our own Royal Geographical Society and others of its kind. They are also illustrated by the full bibliography furnished in the edition under notice. Among the names of textual critics, commentators, and students of Strabo's work, there are extraordinarily few British or American names: the vast majority are German.

This in itself is a commentary on an outlook over geographical study which

is of quite recent growth even in Germany and Austria, but is still younger, and as yet less fully developed, in Britain and America. It is a broad view of the subject which appraises its value not merely in the direction of the discovery of lands, but in that of assessing their worth when discovered, in collecting evidence of the effects of natural environment upon human activity, and in applying the knowledge gained in one region of the world to the elucidation of the problems of another. And this broad view is Strabo's. In his introductory paragraphs he insists at length upon the importance of geography to rulers, politicians, and soldiers, as well as its educational value for all men—lessons which circumstances are teaching us insistently at the present moment—and he also recognises the relations of geography to cognate sciences more fully than many a modern geographer has understood it.

This aspect of Strabo's work is touched upon (though not elaborated) in a short introduction, in which also the translator summarizes the career of the geographer and historian, and among other points, decides in favour of the

earlier of the two dates for the publication of the Geography, which have been so warmly discussed. As for the translation of the work itself, it deserves great praise, and when completed it will be a very notable addition to English texts. It preserves a certain air of meticulous nicety in the choice of words which seems to permeate the original, as if the writer was one whose pen was none too ready, and whose manner of speech was slow and precise. Strabo's criticism, as for instance of Hipparchus, seldom generates more than a gentle heat: his enthusiasm, as for Homer, does not lead him to extravagance of language, and the translation closely follows his mood.

Dr. Jones carefully records divergencies of reading in the different texts, and is often at pains to explain the exact shade of meaning of words whose equivalents in English are imperfect. He also briefly elucidates geographical problems which arise, and an excellent feature is supplied by the diagrams which illustrate Strabo's arguments concerning distances as estimated by Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, and other points. Great care has been exercised by the translator in adapting modern terms to Strabo's usage. Only

once, so far as has been observed, his results are perhaps open to criticism, when in the passage . . . σφαιροειδῇ μὲν τὸν κόσμον, σφαιροειδῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς γῆς the epithet is rendered 'spheroidal,' with an explanatory note that the literal sense, 'sphere-shaped,' is intended, and not the geometrical. But the geometrical figure of the spheroid is so intimately associated with the study of the figure of the Earth after Richer's observations towards the close of the seventeenth century, that for the rendering of a text seventeen centuries older the term might have been better avoided.

The present volume contains two out of the seventeen books of Strabo's geography, and the translation is to be finished in eight volumes. For their excellence of appearance no less than for the scholarly work of the translator the complete series will be very welcome. It should be added that Dr. Jones points out that the introduction and bibliography in the present volume remain substantially as they were left by the late Professor J. R. S. Sterrett, who originally undertook the work, and that the translation of the two books contained here owes much to him.

O. J. R. HOWARTH.

H. SJÖGREN: *M. TULLII CICERONIS EPP. AD ATTICUM*, I-IV.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Epp. ad Atticum, I-IV. By H. SJÖGREN. Pp. xxviii + 198. Upsala, 1916. Kr. 4.25. *Tulliana*, IV. (ex *Erani*, vol. xvi., *seorsum expr.*).

THE eminent Swedish scholar, Dr. Sjögren, has already won a great reputation for his work upon the *Corpus* which contains Cicero's Letters to Brutus, to his brother Quintus, and to Atticus. His previous publications have been *Commentationes Tullianae* (1910), *Epp. ad Brutum* (1910), *ad Quintum Fratrem* (1911), accompanied by three articles, *Tulliana*, I., II. III., printed in *Eranos*, and also issued separately. He has now published a first instalment of the Letters to Atticus, together with a fourth article.

The Letters to Brutus and Quintus

are not deficient in problems for the textual critic, but in point of general interest they do not appeal to the reader in the same way as those to Atticus. Sjögren, therefore, after traversing a somewhat arid zone, has now reached the most interesting part of his subject.

Previous editors of these Letters have been handicapped by the fact that the MSS. had never been properly collated. Sjögren in his *Commentationes* remarks, *neque exstat editio critica neque adhuc potuit perfici*. Until recently only one MS. had been thoroughly collated, viz., *M* (=Laur. XLIX. 18), and it was looked on as the chief authority for the text. A great step forwards was made by C. Lehmann,¹ who distinguished

¹ *De Ciceronis ad Atticum Epistulis recensendis et emendandis* (1892).

between two groups of Italian MSS., viz. Δ , to which M belongs, and Σ , the chief member of which is E , the oldest MS. now extant, having been written at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Both Σ and Δ , however, were shown to be inferior to a Transalpine family of MSS., the chief members of which were C (*Codex Cratandri*) and Z (*Tornae-sianus*). Our knowledge of C is derived from the marginal readings in the edition of Cratander, a printer of Bâle (1528), while the tradition of Z survives in the citations of Turnebus, Lambinus (1565), and Bosius (1580). C and Z are both lost, and we have only a few leaves from a MS., cent. xi./xii., now at Würzburg (W), to represent this family.

Lehmann's work, broken off by his premature death, was taken up by Sjögren, who has recollated the MSS. and proved the truth of Lehmann's contentions. His publications have been received with universal approval. Thus Dr. Purser, the best of judges, says of him: 'The critical edition of the Epistles which he has now well in progress seems as if it would be almost the last word to be said in the settlement of the text, so careful, learned and ingenious is the author.'¹ Such generous praise, coming from one who has himself done so much for the study of Cicero's Letters, must have awakened in Sjögren's breast the joy of which Naevius speaks in Cicero's quotation (*Fam. XV. 6. 1*) *Laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro*.

The new instalment of *Tulliana* contains a short discussion of various symbols prefixed to readings given in the margin of the *ed. Lambiniana*, published in 1573, after the death of that great scholar, followed by an elaborate dissertation upon a number of passages in *Att. I.-IV*. Sjögren shows conclusively that a number of readings to which L (*i.e.* Lambinus) is prefixed are taken from MSS., and are not conjectures. The passages which he proceeds to treat are chiefly interesting to students of grammar, *e.g.* the use of *ne* in prohibition, the subjunctive of command, addressed to an individual (*cures ut sciam*), the future in exhortation (*non retexeris*), usages of *dices*, *inquis*, *inquires*,

of *asyndeton bimembre*, of *denique* after two substantives, of *ut et . . . et* for *et ut . . . et*, of *veni* as the perfect of *eo*, etc. His discussion is marked by great learning and subtlety, and his collections of similar passages are always valuable. As a rule he inclines to defend the reading of the MSS., where most editors have accepted an emendation.

Sjögren's methods as a critic have already been discussed in the pages of this *Review*,² and I will only indicate a few passages in which his conservatism seems excessive. Some are taken from his *Tulliana*, others from the notes to his text.

I. 1. 4. *Vides enim in quo cursu sumus et quam omnes gratias non modo retinendas verum etiam adquirendas putemus MSS., Sjögren*. Editors generally read *simus*, a simple correction, which seems demanded by *putemus*. Sjögren defends *sumus* by *Att. II. 10*, where he reads, with most MSS., *nunc fac ut sciam quo die te visuri sumus (simus edd.)*. Here, however, we have not the evidence given by the subjunctive *putemus* which follows in I. 1. 4. Also, the important MS. E and two other MSS. of the Σ group have *simus*.

I. 3. 3 *expertus est . . . meum studium nec tibi defuisse MSS., Sjögren*. Here editors generally insert *nec sibi* before *nec tibi*. The omission of words between *nec . . . nec*, *aut . . . aut*, *partim . . . partim*, etc., is extremely common. Thus in *Verr. V. 121* we have the variants *neque illis neque tibi V: neque tibi dett.: neque tibi neque illis R*.

I. 20. 2. *nullam rem tanti existimassem MSS., Sjögren*, who explains by an ellipse of *esse*. Editors generally read *aestimassem*. The confusion of *aestimo* and *existimo* is constant in MSS.

III. 8. 2. *scribis . . . audiri fore ut acrius postulatet MSS., Sjögren*.

The reference is to a pending prosecution of Q. Cicero. No prosecutor is mentioned, so previous editors read *postulatetur*. Sjögren explains *ut . . . postulatet (Clodius)*. The name of Clodius, however, does not occur in the letter.

IV. 15. 4. *nos verbum nullum, verita*

¹ Tyrrell and Purser, *ed. iii.*, 1914.

² *Classical Review*, XXV. (1911), pp. 149-154.

est enim pusilla, quae nunc laborat, ne animum Publi offenderet MSS., Sjögren. Previous editors correct to *offenderem*. Sjögren explains by an ellipse, *si ego in hac causa verba dixissem*.

The problem is without doubt difficult. It is indisputable that the Latinity of Cicero in his Letters differs from that employed in his speeches and philosophical treatises, especially in the use of ellipse, archaisms, and colloquialisms. On the other hand it is to be remembered that the MS. evidence for these Letters is weak. We have no old MSS. except the few leaves of *W*, and all our MSS., including *C* and *Z*, are descended from a single archetype, which Lehmann calls *X*. In most of the great *cruces* *C* and *Z* fail to help. The existence of this common archetype is definitely proved by dislocations common to all the MSS. in the Letters to Brutus, in Book II. of those to Quintus, and in *ad Atticum* IV.¹ Such an archetype must have had *proprii errores*, and we must always bear this possibility in mind. The solution which a particular critic will adopt in cases of doubt is largely a matter of temperament, and Sjögren is above all things cautious.

Some interesting remarks are made about double readings in the archetype, e.g. II. 18. 2, where the MSS. vary between *laute* and *recte* (p. xix). In IV. 17. 3 the MSS. give

de ea re ita censuerunt comitia primo quoque tempore haberi censere.

Sjögren says, '*fort-censere ut glossema delendum*.' It seems probable that *censere* = *ce:isuere*, a variant for *censuerunt*, which has got into the text in the wrong place. I would suggest a similar explanation in II. 21. 6, where the MSS. give

spero nos aut certe cum summa gloria aut etiam sine molestia discessuros.

Most editors read *aut cum . . . aut certe*. Sjögren accepts the explanation of Sûpfle that *certe* belongs to both clauses (= *jedenfalls entweder . . . oder wenigstens noch*). It is simple to suppose that the archetype had *aut cum* ^{certe} . . . *aut etiam*, and that *certe* was inserted after the first *aut*.

I now take a notorious passage, II. 1. 5. Most editors print as follows:

inconstantiam eius reprehendi, qui Romae tribunatum pl. peteret, cum in Sicilia aedilitatem se petere dictitasset.

There is great confusion in the MSS. The most important variants are *hereditatem sepe hereditasset* (*M*¹), *aedilitatem sepe dictitasset* (*M*², *plerique*), *heraedilitatem* (*Z*). Lehmann read with *M*¹, explaining that Clodius by changing his *gens* had lost his right to receive inheritances from *gentiles* who died intestate (cf. Dom. 35 *iure hereditatum relicto*), an ingenious, but far-fetched explanation. Sjögren gives *hereditatem saepe dictitasset*, i.e. 'had frequently talked about an inheritance,' which seems very obscure. The corruption in *Z* is clearly due to a conflation of *hereditatem* and *aedilitatem*, which must have been variants in the archetype. Also, *hereditasset* and *dictitasset* seem to be doublets. The ordinary reading, that of most MSS. with the simple correction *se petere* for *sepe*, gives an admirable sense.

I conclude this notice with a few disjointed remarks.

Fresh light has been thrown upon the provenance of *C* by a recent discovery. Previously it was supposed to have come from Lorsch. Sabbadini, however, now assigns it to Fulda.² The evidence is supplied by a new document, viz. Niccolo Niccoli's memorandum, written about 1430, in which occurs

In monasterio Fuldensi. . . M. Tullii Ciceronis volumen epistolarum ad Atticum quod incipit Cum hec scribebam res existimatur esse, etc., finit: Cicero Capiton.

The symbol *c*^s prefixed to certain marginalia in *M*, ascribed by Schmidt to Coluccio, has been much discussed. Schmidt's explanation that it stands for *Colucius* is impossible, since it occurs elsewhere, e.g. in the transcripts of Asconius made by Poggio and Sozomenus. It is generally taken to stand for *corrigas*, while Sjögren mentions with approval a suggestion of Leo that it = *codices*. Light is thrown upon the point by a plate in Steffens' collection

² *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci*, vol. ii., p. 214 (1914).

¹ Cf. Sternkopf in *Hermes* XL. (1905), XLVI. (1911).

of facsimiles (No. 75), taken from a MS. of Seneca, cent. xi./xii., in which *ce* (= *corrige*) occurs five times. Sjögren has not used the Ravenna MS. (*Rav.*), since he considers that its tradition is adequately represented by *V* (*Vat. Pal.* 1510), a MS. written at the end of the fifteenth century. I see on comparing my collation of *Rav.* with the readings of *V* given by Sjögren that the two MSS. are closely connected: thus both omit IV. 5—13, and 15, and a passage in IV. 1. 2. It is, however, clear that *Rav.* is prior to *V*. Thus in IV. 18. 2 *nemo enim in terris*, most MSS. absurdly insert (after *enim*) ΔΕΠΠΙΟ, a word which occurs in XIX. 1. Sjögren says '*fort. librarius archetypi duo folia verterat, post primam vocem scriptam se erravisse sensit.*' *Rav.* has a lacuna after *enim*, while *V* omits the lacuna. So II. 24. 3. *qui eum emisisset*, *Rav.* has *qui quom* for *qui eum*, while *V* has *qui* before a lacuna.

As I once made a hurried collation of *E*, I venture to add a few readings taken from my notes which do not figure in Sjögren's Apparatus. Only two of them are at all important, viz. :

I. 13. 2. *ipse parvo animo et pravo tamen cavillator genere illo moroso.* For *tamen* many read *tantum* with *ed. Iens.* *E* has *tīm* (i.e. *tantum*), not *tīl* (= *tamen*).

IV. 10. 2. *ea quae Cyrea sint, velim . . . invasas.*

For *sint* Wesenberg reads *sunt*. *E* has *st'*, which should represent *sunt*, not *sint*.

The other cases are :

I. 3. 1. *verita sit] veritas sit*, 2 *ad alios] ad alias*, 3 *de te] ad te*, 8. 2. *Megaricis, ut tu ad me scripseras, curavi.* *Hermæ tui Pentelici cum capitibus aeneis, de quibus ad me scripsisti, iam nunc me] megaricis et cum iam me nunc med. om., ib. velim] velis*, 14. 6. *fecit] facit*, 16. 1 *spectatorem] inspectatorem*, 3 *umquam] usquam*, 5 *refertur] refferretur (sic)*, 18. 2 *tuum discessum] discessum tuum*. 19. 4 *quid emerit] quid est*, 6 *invidia] invidiam*, 10 *facilius] om., ib. praetermittatur] intermittatur*, ii. 24. 4 *Q. Considi] om. iii. 15. 2 scindam] sentiam*.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

THE ECLOGUES OF FAUSTUS ANDRELINUS AND IOANNES ARNOLLETUS.

The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Ioannes Arnolletus. Edited, with introduction and notes, by WILFRED P. MUSTARD, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press, 1918. Price \$1.50.

DR. MUSTARD has made the pastoral poetry of the renaissance his peculiar province. To his two scholarly editions of the *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus* (1911, reviewed C.R. XXVII. 241) and the *Piscatory Eclogues of Sannazaro* (1914) he now adds one of those of Andrelinus of Forlì and Arnolletus of Nevers. Mantuanus and Sannazaro are recorded in the second volume of Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*; these two lesser lights, now rescued from oblivion, must be included in a new edition of that work. Of the

two writers the Italian Andrelinus is more interesting than the Frenchman Arnolletus. A pupil of Filelfo and protégée of Ludovico Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, he went early in life to France, where he became popular both as a humanistic teacher and as a poet, and was for many years professor at Paris, enjoying the patronage of the King and Queen. He was moreover a friend of the illustrious Erasmus, who calls him '*vetus congerro meus*,' and speaks highly of his character and attainments. Erasmus addressed to him the amusing letter in which he praised the beauty and amiability of the young women of England, and especially their pleasant fashion of kissing on all occasions. The twelve eclogues of Andrelinus are written in smooth and fluent verse. They show descriptive power and poetical feeling,

especially in passages relating to the beauties of nature. This work of Andrelinus, published at Paris in 1496, and the eclogues of his imitator Arnolletus, published at Paris in 1524, derive special interest from the fact that both authors show familiarity with Calpurnius and Nemesianus, at a time when those poets were little read, having been first published shortly before in the *editio princeps*, which appeared at Rome in 1471. The fifth eclogue of Andrelinus is modelled on the fifth eclogue of Calpurnius; and Dr. Mustard's commentary gives evidence of careful study of the two Roman bucolic poets throughout. There is a good deal of autobiographical matter in the poems; there are many complaints of the difficulty of making a living by literature and of securing noble patronage. Perhaps the most interesting, if the least agreeable, of the eclogues of Andrelinus is the eleventh, an invective against a rival Italian scholar Hieronymus Balbus, who, having been befriended by Andrelinus, had perfidiously requited him by accusing him of apostacy from the Christian faith, in those days a serious charge. The worthy humanist in this eclogue retaliates with an energy and scurrility more suggestive of Juvenal or Claudian than of the soft bucolic singers. There are direct reminiscences of Juvenal, not noticed by Dr. Mustard, in XI. 52 *et casu volute vices nulloque moveri aeternos rectore polos*, Iuv. XIII. 87 *et nullo credunt mundum rectore moveri*, XI. 82 *maiori faenore dicunt offensi dilata dei tormenta venire*, Iuv. XIII. 100 *ut sit magna, tamen certe lenta ira deorum est*. In this connexion I notice that X. 25 *vano in corde senescit* recalls Iuv. VII. 52 *aegro in corde senescit*, and Arnolletus ecl. IV. 214 *Franciscus cervi Clivensis tempora vivat* is inspired by Virg. Ecl. VII. 30 *vivacis cornua cervi* and Iuv. XIV. 251 *longa et cervina senectus*. The style of Andrelinus,

though vigorous, is sometimes obscure, sometimes even ungrammatical; thus VII. 68 *passum laborem* seems to be intended to mean 'labour that has been endured.' The prosody of Andrelinus is generally correct, though he carelessly shortens the final *-o* following the later Latin parts. Occasionally he lapses into false quantities, as in IX. 2 *agresti maiora statu*; XI. 37 *pingui saginata popina*; XII. 118 *extinguibilis arte*. But as regards prosody he contrasts favourably with his imitator Arnolletus, some specimens of whose blunders I append: III. 19 *contrivi tempus aptinis*; IV. 22 *si datus tis rerum*; *ibid.* 146 *cottidie mulctram*, 152 *huius in acerbam*, 156 *nostrā scatentia*, 183 *essē scelestum*, 184 *plebs et ignobile vulgus*, and this last contained in one of the worst hexameters ever concocted; IV. 105 *mortuus est Xerxes, et mortuus ille Darius*. The scansion IV. 115 *Stymphalidas vicit volucres* (IV. 115) is excusable, being borrowed from Ausonius, *Monosticha de aerumnis Herculis*, p. 106. 5; Peiper, *Stymphalidas populit volucres*. I note in passing that the whole of the passage IV. 104-126 is modelled on that poem of Ausonius, which Dr. Mustard might have pointed out in his notes. The eclogues of Arnolletus have been added by Dr. Mustard 'as a sort of appendix.' They are poor stuff. Their author was a schoolmaster of Nevers, whose accuracy was not equal to his piety. His vocabulary is as questionable as his prosody, being disfigured by forms and expressions such as *indubie*, *faustiter*, *clarorum doxa virorum*, *paediae dulce levamen*, *ventripotens*. It would have added to the value of this edition if Dr. Mustard had examined and criticised the prosody and language of these two poets, who fall far below the standard of such great Italian Latinists as Politian, Sannazarius, Flaminius, and Vida.

S. G. OWEN.

Christ Church,
Oxford.

JUVENAL AND PERSIUS.

Juvenal and Persius. With an English translation by G. G. RAMSAY, LL.D., Litt.D., late Professor of Latin in the University of Glasgow (Loeb Classical Library). London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918. 6s.

THIS translation is a useful addition to the convenient series of which it forms a part. It is the work of a skilful scholar, who is a master of English style. Those who know little Latin, or have partially forgotten what they once knew, are provided with a version which is masculine and vigorous, and which passes easily from the grand to the colloquial manner, that constant and baffling characteristic of the Roman satirists' style. The brightly written introduction summarises what is known of the lives of the two satirists, and contains a brief history of Roman satire and some information about the manuscripts of the two authors. Some of the views adopted are rather obsolete. Thus the statement on p. xiii that Juvenal's 'satires were originally published in five books' is open to misconception, since Friedländer's elaborate examination of the chronology of the satires establishes that the five books were published separately in chronological order. Also the brilliant hypothesis of Leo, advanced originally in two papers in the *Hermes* and employed by him as the basis of his revision of Bücheler's text (1910) makes it probable that the first four books were published by the poet in his lifetime, which same books, as revised by the poet himself, with the addition of the unfinished fifth book, were published as a second edition by his executors after his death. This acute theory satisfactorily accounts for the presence in the Oxford manuscript of the strange passage discovered by Mr. Winstedt in *Satire VI.*, and, besides shedding light on the numerous double equally probable variants, helps incidentally to settle other difficulties, such as the repetition of the name Corvinus in VIII. 5, 7. Juvenal's memory could not have been so poorly stored as to force him to use Corvinus twice over as

a type in his catalogue of worthies when he could have avoided the tautology by introducing Fabricius (found actually in some manuscripts) or plenty of other personages. But if our text is complete, and exhibits here the two editions side by side, the riddle is solved. On the same page the statement that *Satire I.* 'was written last, or at least after the rest of Book I.' seems to imply that *Satire I.* may have been written last of all the sixteen satires, which is for many reasons impossible. Also the statement (p. xxxix) that 'the earliest form of *satura* was of a dramatic kind' takes no account of the researches of Hendrickson and Leo, who seem to have succeeded in proving that the supposed dramatic *satura* never had any existence at Rome, but is due to an hypothesis of some early Roman critic, possibly Accius, which was designed to bring the history of the Roman drama into conformity with that of the Greek, and which was incorporated by the uncritical Livy into his history.

The translation, excellent in style, is not always quite faithful. Thus *Juv. I. 36 a trepido Thymele summissa Latino* the meaning of *summissa* is 'despatched' rather than 'made over.' *I. 75 criminibus debent hortos praetoria mensas* not 'high commands' but 'palaces' is the meaning of *praetoria*. *II. 37 ubi nunc, lex Iulia? dormis* 'What of your Julian Law? Has it gone to sleep?' renders not *dormis* but *dormit*, a conjecture of the late Mr. H. Richards. *III. 32 siccandam eluviem* means not 'for cleansing drains' but 'for draining flood-water.' *III. 94 Dorida nullo cultam palliolo* means not 'the nude Doris' but Doris, the *ancilla*, dressed in *tunica* alone, without the *pallium* worn over it by her mistress. *III. 193 urbem tenui tibicine fultam* is strangely translated 'propped up by slender flute-players,' explained in the note as 'statues used by way of props.' This seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Paul. Diac. 366 M. quoted by Mayor. The *tibicen* was a support to prevent the wall from falling outwards. *Ov. F. IV. 695 stantem tibicine villam.* *III. 249 nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo*

cannot mean 'see now the smoke rising from that crowd which hurries for the daily dole,' as the presentation of the *sportula* in the form of food was at that time obsolete. IV. 45 *cumbae linique magister* 'the master of the boat and line' mistranslates *lini*, which means 'net,' as in V. 102 *temeraria lina*, which Dr. Ramsay translates 'the daring fisherman.' V. 143 *viridem thoraca* probably means a child's tunic, made after the cut of that worn by an *auriga* of the fashionable 'green' *factio*. I do not know Dr. Ramsay's authority for translating 'cuirasses of green rushes.' VI. 515 *cui rauca cohors, cui tympana cedunt, plebeia et Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara* is translated 'before him the howling herd with the timbrels give way; his plebeian cheeks are covered with a Phrygian tiara.' This is the ordinary stopping and rendering. I now think that the comma should be removed after *cedunt* and placed after *plebeia*. The *tympana plebeia* are the inferior herd of timbrel-players who are subservient to the chief Gallus. Cf. Ov. *Ibis* 81 *plebs superum fauni satyrique laresques*. VI. 606 *hos favet omni involvitque sinu* 'she fondles them all and folds them in her bosom' renders not *omni*, the reading in the text, but *omnes*, the variant which Professor Ramsay apparently intended to have printed in the text. But *omni* has been sufficiently defended by Friedländer and others. VII. 15-16 *faciant equites Asiani [quamquam et Cappadoces faciant equitesque Bithyni,] altera quos nudo traducit Gallicatalo*. It is not explained why l. 15 is enclosed in brackets, for which there is no cause. The words are translated 'Leave that to the Knights of Asia, of Bithynia, and Cappadocia—gentry that were imported bare-footed from New Gaul.' This is open to serious objections. Knights from Cappadocia, which lay inland south-east of Galatia, and from Bithynia, which lay on the sea-coast north of Galatia, could hardly be said to be imported from Galatia, which lies inland in the centre of Asia Minor. *Traducere*, in Juvenal at any rate, does not mean 'to import.' *Altera Gallica* could hardly stand for Galatia, though *altera Gallia*, the reading of most manuscripts, might mean that. The reading

gallica, spelt without a capital, seems to be correct and is capable of explanation. VII. 219 *cede Palaemon* means 'submit Palaemon' not 'never mind Palaemon.' VIII. 105 *inde Dolabella atque hinc Antonius, inde sacrilegus Verres* is rendered 'But after that came now a Dolabella, now an Antonius, and now a sacrilegious Verres.' But the series *inde hinc inde* cannot mean 'now, now, now' though *inde inde inde* might mean that. Also *Dolabella* with the final *a* lengthened in hiatus involves a false quantity requiring emendation, of which various sorts have been proposed. VIII. 195 *finge tamen gladios inde atque hinc pulpita poni* rendered 'And yet suppose that on one side of you were placed a sword, on the other the stage' misses the force of *gladios*, which signifies 'execution.' VIII. 240-241 *tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi nominis ac tituli, quantum in Leucade*. Here the reading *in* retained in the text involves a false quantity; various remedies have been suggested. Also though *Leucade* (without *in*) 'at Leucas' might signify 'at Actium,' the battle of Actium cannot be said to have been fought 'in Leucas' (so Dr. Ramsay translates), which was an island in the vicinity of Actium. X. 94 *vis certe pila cohortes egregios equites et castra domestica* is rendered 'You would like, no doubt, to have Centurions, Cohorts, and Illustrious Knights at your call.' *Pila* does not mean 'centurions' but the 'pikes' with which the Praetorian cohorts were armed. It is difficult to see how Sejanus, the prefect of the Praetorian guard, could be said to have 'Illustrious Knights' at his call, though the troopers of the Praetorian cavalry being under his command might be so described. XI. 137 *Trypheri doctoris* 'the learned Trypherus' insufficiently indicates that Trypherus was a teacher of cookery. XI. 139 the English for *Scythicae volucres* is 'pheasants' rather than 'Scythian fowls.' XIII. 28 *nona aetas agitur* is adopted instead of the better supported *nunc aetas agitur*. The meaning of the latter is simple, that of the former barely intelligible. It makes Juvenal announce 'We are living in a ninth age.' Ninth from what point of view? the reader asks, and Dr. Ramsay

has no note to answer the question, though fanciful answers have been given. The obvious series of ages are the five of Hesiod (*Op.* 109) or four of Ovid (*M. I.* 89), but neither of these throws any light on a 'ninth age.'

I have left little space for Persius, the translation of which is on 'the whole closer than that of Juvenal, though in some places it might be improved, as III. 3 *indomitum Falernum* means rather the 'fiery' than 'indomitable Falernian' wine. III. 73 *disce, nec invidias quod multa fidelia putet in locuplete penu* is rendered 'learn these things, and do not envy your neighbour because he has a jar going bad in a larder well stored with gifts.' *Multa* is omitted; with *invidias* should be supplied *discere, i.e.* 'grudge not the trouble of learning.'

As with Juvenal, Dr. Ramsay's text of Persius is based on Bücheler's edition of 1893; why he should not have based it on Leo's improved edition of 1910 I do not understand. But in choosing readings he exercises his own discretion, in doing which perhaps more weight might have been given to P as against AB. In III. 44-47, for instance, P has

*saepe oculos, meminī, tangebam parvus olivo,
grandia si nollem morituro verba Catoni
dicere non sano multum laudanda magistro*

as I printed in my Oxford text. AB have *morituri—Catoni discere et insano*. Dr. Ramsay combines the two readings *morituri—Catoni dicere non sano*, for which there is little to be said. The one set of readings or the other should

be accepted entire. Now the passage as preserved in P means 'I used often, I remember, as a boy to smear my eyes with oil if I did not want to deliver a grandiloquent speech to the dying Cato which should be greeted by the applause of my idiotic master.' This is preferable to the tradition of AB, which means 'to learn the speech of the dying Cato,' for the reason that the pupils in the school of rhetoric (from which the poet when a boy represents himself as playing truant) were concerned not so much with learning and repeating speeches of worthies long dead, as with themselves composing and delivering speeches addressed to departed worthies in particular situations, conveying advice to them. Such were Suasoriae. Thus Juvenal 'counselled Sulla to retire from public life.' I. 15 *et nos consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum dormiret*. The dative *morituro Catoni* is more appropriate than the genitive *morituri Catonis*, for Cato is the recipient of the advice.

There are some misprints, thus Leeper's translation, described as 'Strong and Leiper' (p. v) is published not by the Clarendon Press but by Macmillan (p. lxxix), Jahn's edition of Persius was published in 1843 not 1845 (p. lxxx). P. 4 *Syllae* should be *Sullae*. P. 33 *Saburra* should be *Subura*; *Umbrius* should be *Umbrius*. P. 317 note C.R. should be C.Q. S. G. OWEN.

*Christ Church,
Oxford.*

SHORT NOTICES

THE PLATONISM OF PLUTARCH.

The Platonism of Plutarch. By ROGER MILLER JONES. One vol. Large 8vo. Pp. 153. The Collegiate Press: George Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1916.

So far as I know but little has been done in the way of published work on the philosophy of Plutarch since the *Studies of Volkmann and Gréard* some

fifty years ago. There is plenty of room, therefore, for special investigations such as this of Mr. Jones. Dividing his dissertation (written for a Doctor's degree at Chicago) into three chapters, Mr. Jones discusses first the general character of Plutarch's thought, and secondly the more particular question of his method of interpreting Plato; while the last chapter supplies what purports to be a complete list of parallels between Plutarch and Plato. The most

important section of the first chapter is that which deals with the eschatological myths, with special reference to the views of Heinze, Hirzel, and Adler, though there are useful observations also on Plutarch's relation and attitude towards other schools—Aristotelians, Stoics, and Neo-Pythagoreans—as well as to the national religion. For Plutarch's reference to the derivation of the name Apollo from ἀ-πολύς as the negation of plurality, Mr. Jones might have cited the similar derivation in Plato, *Cratyl.* 405c, as well as Chrysippus and the Neo-Pythagoreans. In the beginning of his second chapter Mr. Jones has a good deal to say about that difficult passage in the *Timaeus* (35a ff.) which describes the composition of the world-soul, and ends by adopting Professor Shorey's view, which regards 'the most general categories cognised by the soul as the constituents of the substance of soul,' so that Plato here 'takes account only of the cognitive faculties, not the motive.' This interpretation seems unlikely *a priori* in face of the favourite definition of the soul as the 'self-movant.' This chapter contains also some acute criticisms of Altmann's theory that Posidonius is the source of the doctrine of the soul's nature set forth by Chalcidius, as well as of Heinze's ascription of Plutarch's creation-theory (in the *de Iside*, etc.) to Xenocrates. In the collection of parallels between Plutarch and Plato it may be noted that the text of the new parallels (not indicated by Wyttenebach or Bernardakis but unearthed by the author) is set forth at length.

Altogether, Mr. Jones's production is a very good specimen of its type; it is clearly and methodically composed, and gives evidence of independent judgment and careful study of the literature of the subject. It contains but few obvious misprints, but, like most dissertations, it lacks the convenience of an index.

R. G. BURY.

PLATO'S GEOMETRICAL NUMBER AND THE COMMENT OF PROCLUS.

Plato's Geometrical Number and the Comment of Proclus. By A. G. LAIRD. One vol. Large 8vo. Pp. 29. Wisconsin: The Collegiate Press, Menasha.

IN twenty-nine pages Mr. Laird gives us, first, a discussion of Proclus in *Plat. Rem. Publicam*, pp. 36-7 (Kroll), and, secondly, an interpretation of the notorious passage in Plato, *Rep.* 546B, c, describing what Mr. J. Adam termed 'the Nuptial Number.' The most concise way to indicate the results of Mr. Laird's dissertation will be to reproduce his rendering of the *Republic* passage: 'For a human creature (there is a number) in that figure in which first products that are squares and rectangles, equaling and being equalled, if arranged in a proportion with 3 intervals and 4 terms, the terms being sides of the squares and sides of the rectangles, both if they are increasing and if they are decreasing, showed all in proportion and rational to one another; of which the 3-4-5 type, if the numbers are made solid, furnishes 2 harmonies, the one a square with its side multiplied by 100, the other equal in area to the former but oblong, one side of 100 squares of rational diameters of 5, each lacking 1, or of irrational diameters, each lacking 2, the other side of 100 cubes of 3.' This translation will be seen to differ considerably from Adam's (*Rep.* II. pp. 205 ff.). E.g. Mr. Laird rejects the view that αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι can mean 'root and square increases, i.e. cubings,' arguing that δυναστεύμεναι means rectangles. While accepting Adam's solution ($3600^2 = 2700 \times 4800$), he maintains that 'his method of reaching the 3600^2 is wrong, and his interpretation of the sentence ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον . . . ἀπέφηναν as far from the truth as it well could be. This sentence, instead of containing a number, contains a general definition of the geometrical truth of which the second sentence with its $3600^2 = 2700 \times 4800$ gives a particular example. It states that if a square is equal to a rectangle, then the side of the square is a mean

proportional between the sides of the rectangle, *i.e.* if a^2 is equal to bc , then $b : a$ equals $a : c$. Thus ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον and ὧν are both taken to refer to a figure such as that in *Euclid* VI. 8. On Mr. Laird's view, the number 216, on which Adam set such store, seems to disappear, and with it, apparently, much of the pertinence of the whole passage to the subject of 'better and worse births.'

While one may hesitate to subscribe hastily to any solution of this *locus vexatus* as a whole, the views here put forward deserve serious consideration from students of Greek mathematics.

R. G. BURY.

TEUCER AND THE TEUCRI.

Teukros und Teukrer : Untersuchung der homerischen und der nachhomerischen Ueberlieferung. Von Dr. J. J. G. VÜRTHEIM. One vol. 10" x 7". Pp. 44. Rotterdam : L. and J. Brusse, 1913.

DR. VÜRTHEIM has made a special study of the Ajaxes. In 1907 he published his *De Aiakis origine, cultu, patria*, the object of which was to show that

the two Ajaxes and the Teucer of the epic were originally one, and the mythological offspring of a primal daemon of Locris. The present work is an article for Roscher's *Lexikon*, with much additional matter that could not be compressed into the space assigned. It is an expansion of the chapter on Teucer in the earlier work, and seems to include everything that is known at present about him and the Teucri. The information is conveniently arranged, and the copious references to the original authorities will make the two publications very useful to students of the careers of the sons of Telamon. Teucer is a hero who was πολυπλάνητος κάρτα, and the facts relating to the various localities in which he appeared are separately tabulated accordingly. His name, variously derived, is said to be a title borne by priests of a great god. The Teucri are pronounced to be Lelegian, but that, like all else connected with the Leleges, requires further investigation. In such research ethnological and other enquirers must find exhaustive monographs like the present one extremely handy for reference.

A. S.

NOTES AND NEWS

AT last a beginning has been made of the study of Byzantium and Modern Greek. This year a Koraes Chair is to be established at University College, London, endowed by subscription and supported by a grant from the Greek Government. The professor has not yet been appointed; but lectures are to be given by Mr. L. Oeconomos on the Modern Language and Literature, and

courses of public lectures by Professor Menardos of Athens (Modern Greek Poetry), Professor Diehl of Paris (Les Causes de la Grandeur de Byzance), and Mr. J. Mavrogordato, M.A. (Modern Greek History). Mr. Oeconomos will also lecture on Religious Life in the Byzantine Empire of the twelfth century. Admission to the public lectures is free, without ticket.

JUSTICE.

TRANSLATED AND REPRINTED WITH THE
KIND PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR,
MR. RUDYARD KIPLING.

*Across a world where all men grieve
And grieving strive the more,
The great days range like tides and leave
Our dead on every shore.*

*Heavy the load we undergo,
And our own hands prepare,
If we have parley with the foe,
The load our sons must bear.*

Before we loose the word
That bids new worlds to birth,
Needs must we loosen first the sword
Of Justice upon earth ;
Or else all else is vain
Since life-on earth began,
And the spent world sinks back again
Hopeless of God and Man.

A people and their King
Through ancient sin grown strong,
Because they feared no reckoning
Would set no bound to wrong ;
But now their hour is past,
And we who bore it find
Evil Incarnate held at last
To answer to mankind.

For agony and spoil
Of nations beat to dust,
For poisoned air and tortured soil
And cold, commanded lust,
And every secret woe
The shuddering waters saw—
Willed and fulfilled by high and low—
Let them relearn the Law.

That when the dooms are read,
Not high nor low shall say :—
' My haughty or my humble head
Has saved me in this day.'
That, till the end of time,
Their remnant shall recall
Their fathers' old, confederate crime
Availed them not at all.

That neither schools or priests,
Nor Kings may build again
A people with the heart of beasts
Made wise concerning men.
Whereby our dead shall sleep
In honour, unbetrayed,
And we in faith and honour keep
That peace for which they paid.

ΔΙΚΑ.

Πᾶσα γὰρ πολὺ στένει, στρ. α'
μυρίοις δ' ἐνὶ στόνοις
μᾶλλον ἀγὼν δέδθεν· νεκρῶν δὲ κλύζεται
πτῶματ' ἀμῶν ἐπὶ
ραχίας ποντίας, κλύδωνι λαμπρῶν φορούμεν'
ἐργμάτων.

' Ἀλλ' ὕφιστάμεσθ' α' ἀντ. α'
χθός κακῶν πορίζομεν τ'
αὐτ' αἰεὶ χεῖρες δῦας, πρὸς ξυναλλαγὰς λόγων
εἰ καλεῖν μέλλομεν
δαίους ἀνδρας, ἐκγόνοισι τ' ἀμοῖς μεταῦτις οἰστέας.

' Ἀλλὰ μὴ τελεσφόρον στρ. β
ρήμ' ἴτω νέαν βροτοῖς
ἐκλύχευσον ἀμεράν,
πρὶν Δίκας ἀορ λυθῇ
κυρίας ἐπὶ χθονί,

μὴ κέν' ἦ τὰ πάνθ' ἀφ' ὃδ ἀντ. β
βλάσπεν ἐμπνόνων γένῃ,
καὶ παρειμένοι ῥέπωσ'
ἀμπαλιν βροτοὶ περὶ
σφῶν θεῶν τ' ἀνέλπιδες.

Ξυνώμοσεν γὰρ λεὼς δυνάστη, στρ. γ'
παλαὶ κρατυνθεῖς ἀμαρτίαςαιν,
τίσεως τ' ἀτρεστος ἐνδοῦκου
κακουργία πάνθ' ὅρον παρέκβα.
Παροίχεται δ' ὅν ὁ τῶνδε καιρὸς,
δικαφόρος θ' ἀμερὰ πέφανται,
παθοῦσιν δ' ἰδεῖν πάρεσθ'
ἀμὴν ἐναργέ' Ἀταν
κρinoμένην δικάσταις
ἔθνεσιν ἐν πρόπασιν.

' Ἀποινα δ' ὠδίνος ἀρπαγὰς τ' ἐ- ἀντ. γ'
-θνήμην δσ' ἄρδην κατεσποδῆθη,
— πείδον δὲ γὰς κατήκισαν,
ὅσῃσε δ' ἀήρ πνοαῖσιν λοῦ,
φρίγα τ' ἀθέριμανθ' Ὑβρις κελευστά,
πάθη τε βίγησε κρυπτὰ πόντος·
πρόμοι δ' ἔται τε βου-
λαῖσι βία τ' ἔκραναν,—
γῶν χάριν ἀμματοδόντων
τὰς μεγάλας θέμστας·

' Ὅσπερ μήτ' ἀγὼν λέγεω στρ. δ'
μήτε δημόταν, ἐπεὶ
τὰν τετιμημέναν κρίσιν κλύη,
τὸν μὲν ὡς ὑπερκόποις
τὸν δὲ μετρίαις φρεσὶν
τάπιτίμ' ἐκφύγοι
τὰς δίκας ἀπαλλαγείς·
τοὺς δὲ τῶν λελειμμένων
εἰς ἀπαντα δὴ χρόνον
μυᾶσθιν ἰσχειν ὅπως κακουργίαι
τὰς ξυνώμοσαν οἱ προγενν-
-ήτορες τὸ πάλαι τελεῖν
ἀρκέσειαν ἄρ' οὐδέν·
' Ἀλλὰ πάντ' ἀπεννέπειν
ἐς τὸ λοῖπον, ἦν τις ἦ
γῶν σοφῶν, ἦν τε μαντικῶν νέμων
ἢ τυραννικῶν κράτος,
μὴ τρέφειν λεῶν φύσει
χρώμενον λύκων, πρὸς ἀν-
δρας δ' ἀλωπέκων τρόποις·
τοὺς δὲ φιλτάτους καθύ-
δοντας ἐν τάφοισιν ἦ·
μας τίειν καρδίᾳ φερεγγύφ,
πίστιν δ' αἰδομένους σέβειν
Εἰρήνας ὅπιν εἰσαεῖ
τὰν περ οἶδ' ἐπρίαντο.

ἀντ. δ'

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

**.* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

- Conway** (R. S.) *The Venetian Point of View in Roman History.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 22. Manchester: University Press, 1918. Paper boards, 1s. net.
- Enk** (P. J.) *Gratti Cynegeticum quae supersunt.* Part I.: Prolegomena and Text. Pp. 102. Part II.: Commentary. Pp. 154. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Zutphen: W. J. Thieme, 1918.
- Foster** (F. M. K.) *English Translations from the Greek: a Bibliographical Survey.* 8" \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xxix + 146. Oxford University Press for Columbia Press, 1918. Cloth, 6s. 6d. net.
- Freese** (J. H.) *The Octavius of Minucius Felix. Translations of Christian Literature, Series II.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 102. London: S.P.C.K. 1909. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Goad** (C.) *Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century.* Yale Studies in English. LVIII. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 641. Oxford University Press for Yale University Press, 1918. Paper, 12s. 6d. net.
- Groot** (A. W. de) *A Handbook of Antique Prose Rhythm. I. History of Greek Prose-Metre: Demosthenes, Plato, Philo, Plutarch, and others, Bibliography, Curves, Index.* Wolters (J. B.) Groningen, the Hague, 1918. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xii + 232. [No price given.]
- Holtzhauser** (Clara A.) *An Epigraphic Commentary on Suetonius Life of Tiberius.* Philadelphia, Pa., 1918. 48 pp. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".
- Laird** (A. G.) *Plato's Geometrical Number and the Comments of Proclus.* 9" \times 6". Pp. 32. Wisconsin: Madison, 1918.
- Laurand** (L.) *Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines.* Fasc. I.: Géographie Historique: Institutions Grecques. Pp. xii + §§ 187 + 8. Fasc. VI: Grammaire historique latine. §§ 651 + pp. 41 - 48. 9" \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Paris: A. Picard, 1918. Fr. 3.50 each.
- Leopold** (H. M. R.) *De Spiegel van het Verleden.* 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 82. Rotterdam: W. L. and J. Brusse, 1918.
- Loeb Library.** Pausanias. Vol. I. (W. H. S. Jones.) Pp. xxviii + 457.—Plutarch's Lives. Vol. VI. (B. Perrin.) Pp. ix + 478.—Virgil. Vol. I. (H. R. Fairclough.) Pp. viii + 552.
- Boethius.** (H. F. Steward and E. K. Rand.) Pp. xiv + 420.—Cicero's Letters. Vol. III. (H. E. Winstedt.) Pp. xii + 456. London: W. Heinemann, 1918. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Löfstedt** (E.) *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Terullians Apologeticum.* Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 14. Nr. 24. 10" \times 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 120. Lund: Gleerup, 1918.
- Messer** (W. S.) *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy.* 9" \times 6". Pp. x + 105. Oxford University Press for Columbia Press, 1918. Cloth, 5s. 6d. net.
- Munz** (R.) *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu Strabo's Geographie (Doctor's dissertation).* 9" \times 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 64. Basel: E. Birkhäuser.
- Nilsson** (M. P.) *Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalendars.* Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 14. Nr. 21. 10" \times 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 66. Lund: Gleerup, 1918.
- Persson** (A. W.) *Die Exegeten und Delphi. Vorstudien zu einer Geschichte der attischen Gesetzgebung, I.* Pp. 86. 9" \times 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Lund: Gleerup.
- Rivista di Filologia.** Vol. XLVI. Fasc. 4. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 385-464. Torino: G. Chiantore, 1918. L. 5 per number.
- Rowland** (W. T.) *On the Position of ne and ut in certain Latin Documents.* 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 44. Oxford University Press for Columbia Press, 1918. 4s. 6d. net.
- Shirreff** (A. G.) and **Panna Lall.** *The Dream Queen, a translation of the Svapnavasavadatta of Bhasa.* 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. v + 55. Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1918. 12 ans.
- Verrua** (P.) *Un Sepolcro auspicato nei Sepolcri del Foscolo (Extract from Rivista Abruzzese).* 10" \times 7". Pp. 16. Teramo: A. de Carolis, 1918.
- Zander** (C.) *Versus Saturnii: tertiis curis collegit et recensuit et examinavit C.Z.* Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 14. Nr. 23. 10" \times 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 64. Lund: Gleerup, 1918.

ERRATUM.

P. 172, col. 1: Read 'Daniel' for 'David' Wytttenbach.

The Classical Review

MAY—JUNE, 1919

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

GRAECO-ROMAN OSTRACA FROM DAKKA, NUBIA.

IN 1909 the ancient cemeteries in the neighbourhood of Dakka, the Graeco-Roman Pselcis, were explored by Mr. C. M. Firth and his colleagues of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia.¹ Apart from the Egyptian and indigenous remains discovered, these excavations produced results which may be of some interest to students of Roman military affairs. In the first place a considerable part of the wall of the Roman fortress at Pselcis was cleared. As Mr. Firth reports, 'the wall of the Roman camp [fortress] which protected the temple [of Dakka] on its south and west sides was cleared, and the south and west gates opened. These latter were protected by bastions, in the lower stories of which were rooms. . . . The legionary corn-mill (?) and part of a military inscription were recovered from the south gate.' A proof (for which I have to thank Mr. Firth) of the plan of the fortified enclosure shows, however, that the southern gate-house was flanked by solid bastions, with a semicircular projection beyond the face of the curtain-wall. The western gate is much better preserved, and shows a small guard-chamber in each of the flanking bastions, with an entrance giving upon the interior of the fortress and not upon the gate-passage. In this case, however, the projecting semicircular bastions have been converted by the later addition of a heavy external casing into rectangular towers.

The fragmentary inscription mentioned by Mr. Firth reads as follows:

. . . LIY [. . .
SVB ♂ Ç [VR . . .
Q ♂ RAMM [. . .
MIL A LEG ♂ III [. . .
ET ● COH [. . .

The legion referred to can hardly be other than that known as *Cyrenaica*, which was transferred after long service in Egypt to Bostra under Trajan.²

Nearer the Nile, and some 500 metres north of the Temple of Dakka, Mr. Firth was led by the character of the brick-work to examine a small mud-brick building which Muslim piety had transformed into a sheikh's tomb. When cleared, this structure proved to be a two-roomed building 'with a staircase leading to a small upper platform.' To the west, 'was a huge mass of Roman pottery. . . . There were two hundred or more amphorae, both broken and unbroken, together with pots and jars of other shapes, and a number of bowls of fine blue-glaze. It is possible that the small building represents a customs-house or store at which cargoes were disembarked.' From this structure and from the neighbourhood of the temple about 300 Greek ostraca were recovered.

The nature of the ostraca found suggests that the building was rather the office, and presumably store-house of an official charged with the issues of certain supplies to the troops at Pselcis. Nearly all the fragments which Mr.

¹ See the *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, No. 5 (Cairo, 1910), pp. 7 f. I do not know whether Mr. Firth's definite report has yet been published.

NO. CCLXXIII. VOL. XXXIII.

² Cp. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History* (Ser. I.), p. 225.

Firth handed over to me for publication are receipts or 'chits' handed in by soldiers in return for wine issued to them. Many are so small as to show no more than a few syllables of the stereotyped formula, and therefore not worth printing; the remainder are here reproduced by way of supplement to the ostraca found at Pselcis by Gau in 1819,¹ and edited first by Niebuhr,² then by Franz,³ and more recently by Wilcken.⁴

I should express my very deep indebtedness to Professor B. P. Grenfell who deciphered one badly worn but important piece (No. 2), reread several others, and aided my inexperience by supplying a number of references. Sir Frederic Kenyon also was good enough to check my copy of No. 1.

The present series contains only two non-military pieces. The first of these (No. 1) is unfortunately incomplete, but is important as recording a *sitologos* of Pselcis (?) and the upper toparchy of the Dodekaschoinos—a region hitherto regarded as not organised on civil lines as a nome.⁵ The second (No. 2) is a list of payments of *κολλόροβοι*—i.e., 'gum-plants,' which is at least interesting as containing a word unknown to lexicographers.⁶

All the remaining examples are military receipts. These, with two exceptions (Nos. 16, 19), are epistolary like the receipts of the earlier series found by Gau; but whereas Gau's ostraca are addressed to an *optio* and relate almost entirely to dry rations (corn), Mr. Firth's examples introduce another, and hitherto almost unknown, official, the *cibariator*, and acknowledge

the issue of wine or its equivalent. The bare formula used in these documents is as follows: 'A, soldier (or trooper) in the century (or squadron) of B, to C, the *cibariator*, greeting. I received from you out of the *cibarium* x (quantity) of wine, value y denarii, z obols. Year a, month β.' Except in certain necessary cases (see below) this formula is only twice varied *ὁμολογῶ εἰληφέναι* (No. 3), and *ἔσχον* (No. 4) being substituted for the normal *ἔλαβον*.

The soldiers who wrote these receipts seem to have been mostly Graeco-Egyptian and Hellenistic, names like Besarion (No. 7), Dioscoros (No. 4), Nilos (No. 6), Ammonios (No. 9) being the most usual; in some instances a Roman name is prefixed (Nos. 6, 7, 8). Naturally most of the writers are privates (*στρατιώτης*) or troopers (*ἰππεύς*); but other ranks are sometimes mentioned, such as a *custos armorum*,⁷ in No. 8, a *tesserarius* in No. 6, a *signifer* in No. 9, an *optio*⁸ in Nos. 10, 11, a *dromadarius*⁹ also twice occurs (Nos. 12, 13).

Unfortunately the names of the units stationed at Pselcis are never mentioned in the ostraca, individuals being identified merely by the century (usually abbreviated x; once £, occasionally in full *κεντουρία*) or the turma (always symbolized by T) to which they belonged; the officer's name being always added. Officers appear to have been sometimes of western origin—if the names Sabinus (Nos. 5, 11, etc.), Antonius (No. 7), Longinus (Nos. 12, 13), are any guide—and sometimes Hellenistic or Graeco-Egyptian—e.g., Glycon (Nos. 13, 17), Hermeinos (No. 14), Alexander (No. 8).

The official addressed was styled *κιβαριάτωρ*, a title representing a Latin *cibariator*; neither form is to be found

¹ *Neu entdeckte Denkmäler von Nubien*, pls. viii., ix.

² *Ap. Gau op. cit.* pp. 18-20.

³ *C. I. G.*, III. 5109, 1-37.

⁴ *Griechische Ostraka II.*, Nos. 1128-1146. Wilcken's conjecture that 1265 came from Dakkeh seems to be confirmed by the reappearance of Petronius the *cibariator* in the present series.

⁵ Milne, *Hist. of Egypt under Rom. Rule*, p. 23.

⁶ What is meant by τὸ κολλόροβον which Sagittarius holds in his right hand (Hipparchus, *ad Phaen.* I. 16 *ap.* Migne, *P. G.* XIX. 1037 A) is not clear: Sophocles doubtfully suggests 'club.'

⁷ Cp. Bates, *Rock Inscr. near Dakka* (in *Bull. of the Arch. Survey of Nubia*, No. 5), Station 1, Nos. 6-7 *Αυρηλις | Ερμεινια | νος αρμορο | κουστορ στα | τινωνaris*. Also *P. Hamb.* 39. p. 175; *B. G. U.* 344, 14; and Lesquier, *L'Armée Romaine*, p. 229, and App. I., Inscr. 13 (= Maspero, *Ann. du Service des Ant.* IX. 267 ff.).

⁸ Cp. Wilcken's Nos. 1130 ff.

⁹ Cp. *Eph. Epigr.* VII. 463; *P. Oxyr.* 1652 (unpublished); *B. G. U.* 696, 14, 30, and 827 verso.

in the *Lexica*.¹ In the present series there is a good deal of variance as to the orthography of the Greek form, which is spelt (in the dative) *κιβαριατορι* (No. 6), *κιβαριατωρι* (No. 9), *κειβαριατωρι* (No. 8), *κιβαρειανορι* (No. 7), and once *κι]βαριατων[ι*. The second *ι* is represented in all examples save one (No. 5), and Wilcken² therefore appears to be mistaken in judging that *κιβαράτωρ*—*cibarator* are the true forms. Similarly the department administered by this official is variously rendered (in the genitive) *κιβαριου*, *κιβαρειου*, and *κειβαριου*, reproducing the Latin *cibarium*. The function of the *cibariator* was to issue wine (or money for the purchase of wine, see below) to troops from whose pay the price was deducted.³ In No. 10 he is distinguished from the *optio*, who was responsible for 'dry rations.' Yet from No. 14 it appears that he also dispensed salt, lentils and vinegar—the last named article being also mentioned in No. 16.

The amount of wine issued is determined (a) by its value alone (see Nos. 4, 9), or by the vessels in which it was contained, the value being added in this case also. Two such vessels—obviously of standard capacity—are mentioned: (1) The *τρικέραμον*⁴ (abbreviated *τρι**, see Nos. 15, 19), always a neuter noun (Nos. 10, 11), seems to be otherwise unknown; for the form cp. *τρίχυρον*, *τριμάτιον*, *τριχολνικος*. As the *διπλοκέραμος*⁵ was equivalent to two *κέραμοι* or *κεράμια*, so the *τρικέραμον* had the capacity of three *κέραμοι*. Its value seems to have fluctuated; in No. 10 it is worth 3 denarii and 20 obols, while in No. 13 two *τρικ.* are valued at 5 denarii and 9 obols. (2) The *κολοφώνιον* (abbreviated *κο**, see Nos. 7,

16) again had a definite capacity, as Wilcken⁶ after some hesitation recognises. Once more the value is uncertain; in No. 5 two *κολοφονια* are worth 4 denarii and 15 obols, in No. 7 one *κολοφονιον* is priced at 3 denarii, in No. 8 at 2 denarii and 2 drachmæ, in No. 17 at 3 denarii and 6 obols.

In some instances (Nos. 14, 18, 20⁷) the receipt is not for wine, but for a sum of money paid over by the *cibariator* to soldiers to purchase their own supplies; in others (Nos. 6, 6^a, 11, 22) the issue is in kind, but the price is left undetermined 'until the value is fixed.'

Where the recipient was illiterate, his receipt could be written for him by a comrade, who usually added his own name and the unit to which he belonged (No. 7 is exceptional), sometimes stating that the author of the receipt 'did not know letters' (Nos. 8, 21).

The receipt ordinarily closes with the date, in terms of the regnal year (Λ= *ἔτους*) of the ruling Emperor,⁸ followed by the day of the (Egyptian) month.

Certain subscriptions often follow the main text, such as the formulæ *συνευδοκῶ* (No. 23⁹), *σεσημειῶμαι* (Nos. 4, 21¹⁰), the countersignature *διὰ . . .*¹¹ (Nos. 17, 19, 20); the directions *τοῖς λιβραρίοις* (No. 18), *τοῖς κουράτορσι* (Nos. 15, 19?). Finally the amount of wine issued, or the value, are frequently summarised below, no doubt to facilitate reference (Nos. 16, 18-21).

I. Πετενης Πελλιου σιτολογος [Ψελεως?
και ανω τοπου της ιβ σχοινου [δια . . .

¹ I., p. 764; cp. No. 1265 (in No. 1166 *κο** perhaps = *κολοφώνιον*). No doubt the term originally denoted a peculiar type of wine vessel exported from Colophon; but this restricted sense is quite absent in this ostraca. An exact analogy is provided by the term *κνίδιον οἶνου* in an anecdote concerning the Egyptian monk Sisoës (see *Apophth. Patr.*: Sisoës VIII.): cp. Wilcken I. 765.

² Cp. Wilcken, Nos. 1142, 1265.

³ The persons named in this and the earlier Dakka series are often the same. Presumably therefore Wilcken's dating (I. 705) for the earlier series applies equally to the later.

⁴ See Wilcken, I., p. 83: *B.G.U.*, 834, 24.

⁵ See Wilcken, I., p. 83, Nos. 1131, 1132.

¹¹ For the significance of this, see Wilcken, I. 128.

¹ The word has not previously occurred except in Wilcken's Nos. 1142, 1265.

² *Ib.*

³ Rations were issued to troops; but unlike the modern rations their value was deducted from the soldiers' pay. John the Baptist (St. Luke iii. 14) may therefore have had reason to advise the soldiers to be content with their rations (*ἀρκέισθε τοῖς ὀφυνώϊς ὑμῶν*).

⁴ In Wilcken's No. 1129, I. 4, *τρικέραμον κοπτικόν* is probably to be read. Presumably it was a vessel of standard shape and size manufactured at Coptos (the modern *Ḳift*, some distance north of Luxor).

⁵ See Wilcken, I., p. 759.

νυχου Πετεφίλου <ε>γγιδοντος [τινα
μερη ?
της σιτολογίας εμετρησεν Ουχατι[s
νουφισύ υ(περ) ονοματος Ψενπαν[
τιαπι<ο>ς υ(περ ?) Μετακωλυσεως[
ιε L κα[]χ .[

2 τόπον = τοπαρχίας.

3 = εγγχειρίζοντος.

5 νουφισιν (sic).

6 Μετακωλυσεως (sic): Grenfell suggests a place-name.

2. Απολλως Απολλωτος και α-
δελφος κολλοροβοι ē
Αρεωτης αλιευς υπερ ναυ-
λου κολλοροβον ā
Τοχαμανις Πετερμουθου
και Τανουβις Αθασιδος
κολλοροβοι ē
Παμης Απολλωτος κολλοροβοι γ̄
Πασεφανς Ασκληατος κολλο-
ροβοι γ̄.

A list of payments of κολλοροβοι (otherwise unknown) or 'gum-plants.'

3. [. . .] επτ̄ι α[δης ? στρα-]
[τιω] της x̄ Ποσ[ειδω-]
νιου κιβαρει [ατορι]
χαιρειν· ωμολογ[ω ειλη-]
φηναι παρασου ε[κ του]
[κιβ]αρειου οινου [. . .]
[] υν[. . .]

2 x̄ ρ̄ = κεντουρίας.

4. Διοσκορος Δ[
Πετρωνιω [χαιρειν·]
εσχον παρα σ[ου απο]
τιμης οινου δηναρι-
α δυο L ιη
[] ιβ̄
εσημοσομην

7 See Wilcken, I. 83, and cp. No. 21 (below).

5. Ιουλιος Γερμανος στρατιω(της)
x̄ Σαβεινος Πετρωνιω κιβαριατορι
χαιρειν· ελαβον παρα σ(ου)οινου
κολοφονια δυο δηναριων
τεσσαρων οβ(ολων) ιε L x̄ δ οβ. ιε̄
L ιξ̄ // Επαγωμενω(ν) δ̄ Πασιον.

2 κιβαριατορι (sic): cp. Wilcken, No. 1265.

5 L = γίνεταί, 'total.' x̄ = δηναρίων.

6. Ιουλis Νιλος ιππ[ευσ]
x̄ Λουγινω Αλε[ξανδρω]
κιβαριατορι χαι[ρειν· ελαβον]
παρασου οινου κ[ολοφωνιον] εως]
συντιμθη β[. . .]
τεσσαρια[ς] εγραψα υπερ αυτου]

- 6a. . . .]ης ιππευς x̄ Γεμελλου
κ[ι]βαριατωρι χαιρειν
ελαβον πα[ρα] σου εκ του κιβαρ-
ιου οινου] κολοφωνιν εν εως συ[ν-
τιμθη] L ιη̄ // Φαωφι κ̄
]εγραψα

7. δρασα ε
λεων Βησαριων
ιππευς x̄ Αντωνι(ου)
Πετρωνιω κιβαριατορι
χαιρειν· ελαβον παρα σου εκ του
κιβαρειου οῑ κολ̄ εν x̄ γ̄
L ιξ̄ // Μεχειρ ια
Πρισκος Αμμο-
νιανος εγρα-
ψα.

6 = οιν(ου) κολ(οφωνιον) εν (δηναριων) (τριων).

8. M̄ Αυρηλις Ασκληπιαδης Ερμιν . .
x̄ Αλεξανδρου Πετρωνιου (sic) κειβα-
ριατωρι
χαιρειν· ελαβον παρα σου οινου
κολοφονιν
εν δηναριων δυο δραχμας δυο Μαρξ̄
[ος ?]
Αυρηλιος Ωριων Σαραπιων αρμωρω
(ν)
κουστωρ εγραψα υ(περ) αυτου μη
ιδωτος
γραμματα L κ̄ // Μεσορη ιβ̄

9. Αμμωνις Αμμωνις σημε-
αφορος Αλεξανδρω κιβαρια-
τωρι χαιρειν· ελαβον εκ του
κιβαριου οινου δηναρια
οκτω οβολ(ων) οκτω x̄ η̄ οβο̄ η̄
Ερμειν [.] Αντιοχου
. . εγαψ[α] L ιη̄ Παοινι ιδ̄

10. Νεφερωσ Νεφερωτος
οπτιων Αλεξανδρω κει-
βαριατορι χαιρειν· ελαβον
παρα σου οινου τρικεραμον
εν x̄ τριων οβολων εικοσι
L ιη̄ // Φαμενωθ κ̄.

11. [] διανος x̄ Σαβινου
[. . . κιβαριατ]ορι χαιρειν· ελαβον
[παρα σου οινου τρι]κεραμον εν αχρι
συν-

[] L ιξ̄ // Φαμενωθ ια
[] . εινευσ οπτιων εγραψα

3 αχρι συν-[αρσεως ?] (cp. Wilcken, No. 1135,
5. αχρι λογον συναρσεως).

12. Αντωνις Ἰεραξδρομαδαρ(ιος) ≠ [Λον-
γεινον]
Πετρονιω κιβαριατορι χαιρ[ειν·
ελαβον]
παρα σου εκ του κιβαριου[
και τρικαιραμον ε[ν δηναριων τριων?]
οκτω οβολ[ων
.. [

13. Αντωνιος Ιεραξδρομ[αδαριος]
≠ Λονγεινου Πετρων[ιω κιβαρια-
τορι]
χαιρειν· ελαβον παρα [σου εκ του]
κιβαριου οινου τρικερα[μα β̄ (?)
δηνα-]
ριων πεντε οβο(λων) θ̄ []
νιδης στρα(τιωτης) ρ̄ Γλυκ[ωνος
εγραψα]

14. Πρισκος Παυλος ιππευς
≠ Ερμεινου Απολλοτι κει-
βαριατωρι χαιρειν· ελαβον
παρα σου απο τιμης φακου
και αλος και οξεος δηναρι-
α τεσσερα οβολοι
οκτο L γ ≠ Τυβι γ
γρα (sic)

15. εγραψα] ιδια χιρι
δι Ερμινος Τυρανος
κουρατ̄ τρι^κ ᾱ
κουρατ̄ τρι^κ ᾱ

3-4 = κουρατοροι (curatoribus) τρικεραμον εν.

16. Πετρωνις χιριστη-
ς κο^λ ᾱ οξιδιν
α

2 οξιδιν <ο> ν, a jar of vinegar.

17. [. . .] δοντης στρατιωτης [χ̄]
Γλυκωνος Πετρωνιω τω
κιβαριατωρι χαιρειν· ελαβον
παρα σου εκ του κιβαριου οινου
κολοφωνιον εν δηναριων
τριων οβολ(ων) ξ̄ αυτος [εγραψα]
L ια ≠ Επειφ̄
δι Ερμ[εινου?]

18. Διδυμος Παχωμ[ιου?]
Αλεξανδρω κιβαρια[τορι χαιρειν·
ελαβον]
[παρα] σου απο τιμης οιν[ου δηναρια
δ̄ (?)]

L ιη ≠ Τυβι ῑ εγρα[ψα ιδια χειρι?]
τοις λιβραριοις
θ̄ δ

5 Second hand.

6 = δηναριων? τεσσαρων (third hand),

19. Ποσιτος κοινωδης
τοις L^{ον} τρι^κ α
δια Πισαν (second hand)
α

2 Perhaps = τοις κουράτοροι: cp. No. 15.

20. Ερμεινος θ̄ [. . . στρατιωτης]
χ̄ Τρουνηιου [. . . κιβαρια-]
τωρι χαιρειν· ελαβον παρα]
σου υπ(ερ) τιμ[ης οινου δηνα-]
ριων δυο ρβ[ολ . . .]
Διοσκορος Παλ[
δια Τρουνη<ν>ιου
θ̄ β

8 (Second hand) = δηναριων δυο. cp. No. 18.

21. [. . .]ωνι Ερμεν[
ρι χαιρειν· ελαβον π[αρα σου
εκ του κιβαριου . . .]
οινου ≠ β̄ Ερμιων
υιος αυτου εγραψα υπερ αυτου
μη ειδ(οτος) γραμματα
[L] ιε Παωναι δ̄
≠ β̄
σεσημιο-
με (sic)

9-10 = σεσημιώμαι: see Wilcken, I., p. 83,
and cp. No. 4.

22. []πελ̄ []
[Αλεξ]ανδρου κι[βαριατορι χαιρ-]
[ειν· ελα]βον παρα σου οιν[ου]
[τρικερα] μον εν L ιθ̄ ≠
[.] ξ̄ εως συντιμηθην (sic)
] . . .

23. [κιβαριατο]ρι χ[αιρειν· ελαβον παρα
σου
[οινου κο]λοφωνι(ον) εν δ[ηναριων
τεσ-
[σρων L] Επειφ̄ κ̄ Ιουλιος []
[συνε]υδωκω και εγραψα []
[. . .]ης συνευδωκω κ[αι εγραψα
[. . .] Ιεραξ̄ κι (sic)
κ̄ κο^λ β̄. Αυρηλις Ερμ[
θ̄ δ

ON THE DATE OF THE *HERAKLES* OF EURIPIDES.

THE *Herakles* of Euripides is one of those plays concerning the date of whose first performance the grammarians are silent,¹ but study and conjecture have done much to remedy this defect,² placing the date almost certainly between 425 and 418³ and probably between 423 and 420,⁴ one editor at least giving it as his opinion, 'if a definite year is to be named,' that the play was first performed in 423.⁵ We would submit a series of considerations tending to confirm these conjectures, and to place the date of the performance of the *Herakles* in 422.

Firstly, the opening scene shows us the suppliants at an altar—the altar, we are definitely informed, of *Zeus σωτήρ*,⁶ the locality, though not in Thebes itself, is in the territory so called,⁷ and the spot represented is an open space in front of the present home of Herakles and his family.

Now in the territory of Thebes there were probably several sanctuaries and images of Herakles in the fifth century B.C.; there certainly were many in the time of Pausanias,⁸ but of images of Zeus the Saviour in that region there is, as far as I know, only mention of one—namely, that at Thespieae.⁹ At Thespieae there was also, in Pausanias' time, a sanctuary of Herakles,¹⁰ and if the image and sanctuary existed in the fifth century, the combination of the two would have been calculated, we may reasonably suppose, to bring Thespieae to the minds of the audience who attended the performance of the *Herakles* in the theatre of Dionysus.

Now we submit that the fact that Pausanias not only states the existence of an image of Zeus the Saviour and of a sanctuary of Herakles at Thespieae, but goes at some length into their respective *raisons d'être* is enough to justify a strong presumption that the image and sanctuary were of some renown and of considerable antiquity in his time.

It is true that the altar to Zeus the Saviour, at which Amphitryon is a suppliant, is said by him to have been raised by Herakles in thanksgiving for his victory over the Minyans;¹¹ but of this altar, if such a one ever actually existed, we appear to have no historical record, whereas the image at Thespieae was apparently well known in later times.

Now in the summer of the year 423, 'Θηβαῖοι Θεσπιδίων τείχος περιεῖλον, ἐπικαλέσαντες ἀττικισμόν, βουλόμενοι μὲν καὶ αἰεὶ, παρεστηκὸς δὲ ῥᾶον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων μάχῃ ὃ, τι ἦν αὐτῶν ἄνθος ἀπολώλει.'¹²

The battle referred to is the engagement at Tanagra in 424, in which the Thespians suffered most severely: 'ὑποχωρησάντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν παραταγμένων, καὶ κυκλωθέντων ἐν ὀλίγῳ, οἵπερ διεφθάρησαν Θεσπιδίων, ἐν χερσὶν ἀμυνόμενοι κατεκόπησαν. καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διὰ τὴν κύκλωσιν ταραχθέντες, ἡγήνησάν τε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους.'¹³

If the Thebans had long wished to punish the Thespians for atticism, we must assume they had some reason for doing so, especially in view of the brave stand the latter had made at Tanagra; in other words, the Thespians must at some time have given help to the Athenians. It would, under the circumstances, be only natural for a strong feeling to prevail at Athens that the Athenians ought to march out against the Thebans and help the Thespians, who at some previous time had given succour to the Athenians and thus incurred ruin on their account.

¹ The Hypothesis may have contained these particulars, but it is not complete in the MSS.

² See especially Miss Grace McCurdy's *Chronology of the Extant Plays of Euripides* and Wilamowitz, *Herakles*, I², p. 134 ff.

³ Euripides, *Heracles*, with introduction and notes by O. R. A. Byrde, M.A. Oxford, 1914.

⁴ *Euripidis Fabulae*, ed. G. Murray, Vol. II., *Heracles*.

⁵ O. R. A. Byrde, *op. cit.* ⁶ l. 48.

⁷ *Four Plays of Euripides*, by A. W. Verrall, p. 142.

⁸ Paus. IX. 11. 4 and 6; IX. 24. 3; IX. 25. 4; IX. 26. 1; IX. 27. 6 and 8; IX. 32. 2 and 4; IX. 34. 5; IX. 38. 6.

⁹ Paus. IX. 26. 7. ¹⁰ Paus. IX. 27. 6.

¹¹ l. 49.

¹² Thucydides, IV. 133.

¹³ Thuc. IV. 96.

Signs are not wanting to show that the *Herakles* may well have been a play with a partly political motive—namely, the encouragement of the feeling against the Thebans and in favour of the Thespians.

Reading the lines 217-235, we see they might well have been spoken by some aged Thespian, powerless to defend his city from the dishonour imposed upon it by Thebes:

ὦ γαῖα Κάδμου· καὶ γὰρ ἐς σ' ἀφίξομαι
λόγους δνειδιστήρας ἐνδοαυτοῦμενος·
τοιαῦτ' ἀμύνεθ' Ἡρακλεῖ τέκνουςί τε ;
ὅς εἰς Μινυαίαι· πᾶσι διὰ μάχης μολῶν
Θήβας ἔθηκεν δμυ' ἐλευθέρων βλέπων.
οὐδ' Ἑλλάδ' ἦρεσ'—οὐδ' ἀνέξομαι ποτε
σιγῶν—κακίστην λαμβάνων ἐς παῖδ' ἐμὸν,
ἣν χρῆν νεοσσῶς τοῖσδε πῦρ λόγχας ὅπλα
φέρουσαν ἐλθεῖν, ποτίων καθαρμάτων
χέρσων τ' ἀμοιβάς—ὣν ἐμύθησας χάριν.
τὰ δ', ὦ τέκν', ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίων πόλις
οὐδ' Ἑλλάς ἀρκεῖ· πρὸς δ' ἐμ' ἀσθενῆ φίλον
δεδῶρκατ', οὐδὲν ὄντα πλὴν γλώσσης ψόφον.
ρώμη γὰρ ἐκλελαπεν ἦν πρὶν εἶχομεν,
γῆρα δὲ τρομερὰ γυῖα κάμαυρον σθένος.
εἰ δ' ἡ νέος τε κᾶτι σώματος κρατῶν,
λαβῶν ἂν ἔγχος τοῦδε τοὺς ξυνοὺς πλόκου
καθημάτων' ἂν, ὅστ' Ἀθλατικῶν πέραν
φεύγειν ὄρων ἂν δεῖλ' αὐτοῦμ' ὁδόν.

Other passages of this nature are not wanting in our play.¹

It may be objected that the Athenians would hardly wish to help men

who, like the Thespians, had fought against them, and fought bravely and well. To this the latter part of our play may perhaps furnish some answer: 'The moment's madness when Athenians fought against Thespians (aye, and Athenians against Athenians too!) on the field of Tanagra, is past! Thespieae has paid for it, and paid dearly, by the loss of the flower of her sons! Shall Athens let her go down in utter ruin, that Thespieae who helped her in other days? Surely it is inconceivable.'

We think we are justified in seeing some trace of such an idea in the play before us, and in applying it in support of the contention that the *Herakles* was performed at the City Dionysia of 422.

Another slight indication, apparently pointing in the same direction, may perhaps be found in ll. 1303-1310, and in other slighting references to the goddess Hera, *passim*, in view of the fact that the temple of that goddess at Argos was burnt down in the summer of 423;² but this is more likely to be a chance coincidence.

J. A. SPRANGER.

Florence, 1919.

¹ *E.g.*, ll. 312-326, 498-502.

² Thuc. IV. 133.

ADDITIONS TO THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

PROFESSOR GRENFELL has kindly given me some further references to Greek Papyri, which complete the additions to the *Greek Anthology* up to the present time. See the classification in *Classical Review*, XXXII. 187, and XXXIII. 36.

Additions to Class 1: P. Petrie ii. XLIX. (b), p. 158, ed. Mahaffy. Of the third century B.C.; in the Bodleian; the first of the series of Anthologies which have been discovered. It contains fragments of four-lined poems by writers named [Sosi-?]phanes, Aristarchus, [Pol-?]ydamas, (or [Ast]ydamas, Grenfell), Cratinus: this is more likely than that the poems are addressed to these persons.

Additions to Class 3: P. Freiburg; W. Aly in Sitzungsab. Heidelberg Akad.

1914. Fragments of two anonymous Epigrams in which Erginus, the helmsman of the *Argo*, is mentioned, and also under the title of Ἡρακλεώτης, Idmon; see Schol. Ap. Rhod. ii. 845. Aly quotes *Callim. Fr.* 197, Ἐργίνος Κλυμένον ἔξοχος ἐν σταδίῳ, and since Ἐργίνος in the Papyrus stands as the first word in a pentameter, and the next and only letter is a doubtful σ, he sees an 'attractive coincidence,' and thinks that this may be a fragment of Callimachus.

Revue de Philologie, XIX. 177 = *P. Brit. Mus.* 256, by F. G. Kenyon; Papyrus of the first half of the first century; H. Weil, *ibid.*, p. 180. An anonymous elegiac poem of fourteen lines on the conquest of Egypt by Augustus, and in commemoration of the battle of Actium. Since the title Σεβαστός ap-

pears, the epigram was not composed before 27 B.C. The author was probably a Greek of Alexandria. The poem contains some bold and striking expressions, such as *εἰρήνης εὐώπιδος*, and *αἰὼν ὡς στόμασιν βεβηγμένε*.

A Papyrus at Hamburg, published by Wilamowitz in *Sitzungsb. preuss. Akad.* 1918, p. 736, of the middle of the third century B.C. Seventeen mutilated lines of an elegiac poem giving the account of the interview of an envoy with a king. Since *θοῦρος ἀνὴρ Γαλάτης* is mentioned, with a description of the Gauls' hardy life, the poem seems to have narrated some incident of the Gauls' invasion of Asia and their settlement. These references point to Attalus I., and, if one may conjecture the name of the author, it might be Musaeus of Ephesus, who, according to Suidas, wrote poems on Eumenes and Attalus (not necessarily Attalus II., as Susemihl suggests). Wilamowitz however thinks that the pressure of some danger points to the king being a Seleucid. The style is vigorous, but not quite as polished as the best Alexandrian. Since we know so little of this period of Greek history, this fragment is particularly tantalising.

P. Petrie ii. XLIX. (a), p. 157; in the British Museum. Fragments of a Hellenistic poem, called by O. Crusius in *Philologus*, 1894, p. 12, 'ein Hochzeitsgedicht?' It exhibits all the signs of the Callimachean school, recondite allusion, rare words, polished metre.

P. Oxyrh. 15, third century. Short songs for the flute ending with the note *αὔλει μοι*, as Wilamowitz has rightly divided *αυλειμοι*: *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898,

695. The lines appears to be *ἐξάμετροι μειούροι*. W. Crönert in *Archiv f. Pap.* I. 113.

Additions to Class 3, 6: Fragments of Epigrams of the *τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους* type, P. Oxyrh. 671. 'The abbreviations *ω* or *νι* may give the name of the poet, e.g. Nicarchus' (Grenfell and Hunt).

Mélanges Nicole, p. 615 = P. Heidelberg 1273, edited by G. A. Gerhard and O. Crusius; of the sixth century. Six exercises on mythological subjects, 'the most trivial school mythology.' With them may be compared the seven Hexameters in *Philologus*, 1905, 145, of Nonnus' time = *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 1904, p. 208.

Addition to Class 4: P. Freiburg 4, of the first century B.C.; W. Aly in *Sitzungsb. Heidelb. Akad.* 1914, p. 58, containing fragments of the Epigram of Posidippus in *Anth. Pal.* XVI. 119. The author's name is conjecturally inserted by Aly; it is a pity that it has disappeared from the text, since it might have thrown light on the question who the author was, for in the view of P. Schott, the editor of *Posidippus*, p. 53, it was not Posidippus.

Addition to Class 4, 3: Fragments of Meleager's Epigram in *Anthol. Pal.* V. 151 (152 Paton); Wilamowitz in *Sitzungsb. preuss. Akad.* 1918, p. 750. It is a small fragment which joins on to the end of the Epigrams by Meleager published in the *Berlin Klass. Texte*, V. 1, 75. It is interesting as confirming the conjecture of Pierson and Graefe, accepted by Mr. Paton, but not by Stadtmueller or Duebner, *δορᾶ*, for *δορᾶς* of Pal.

J. U. POWELL.

NIHIL IN OVID.

In the *Classical Quarterly* for 1916, vol. X pp. 138 f., I considered Lachmann's doctrine of the Ovidian prosody of *nihil* together with the evidence alleged against it, and concluded that judgment on the controversy must be held in suspense. Before proceeding further let me rehearse the facts and contentions. It is Lachmann's precept,

delivered in *Kl. Schr.* II p. 59 and at *Lucr.* I 159, that Ovid used only *nil* and *nihl*, not *nihil*. For *nihil* he ad-
duced

met. VII 644 in superis opis esse *nihil*. at in
aedibus ingens,
trist. V 14 41 morte *nihil* opus est pro me sed
amore fideque,
ex Pont. III 1 113 morte *nihil* opus est, n(ih)il

to which I added

met. XIV 24 fine *nihil* opus est ; partem ferat illa caloris,

where the main tradition of the MSS is corrupt and gives *fineque nil* or rather *et neque nil*. The one instance of *nihil* which he found,

her. XIX 170 exiguum, sed plus quam *nihil*, illud erat,

he reckoned among the features assigning that epistle to another hand than Ovid's. Merkel opposed him with

trist. V 8 2 te quoque sim, inferius quo *nihil* esse potest,

and Lucian Mueller with

trist. IV 8 38 mitius inmensus quo *nihil* orbis habet ;

but I remarked that the distich containing the former of these two examples is on other grounds suspect, and that the latter could, if need were, be removed by an easy and even plausible transposition. Wherever else in Ovid's text the form *nihil* is followed by a vowel, the metre allows *nil* ; and the spelling of MSS, which often offer *nihil* where only *nil* is metrical, has no claim to represent the spelling or pronunciation of the author.

I can now settle the question by means of an observation which I ought to have made before, and so indeed ought Lachmann. I have collected all the verses in which this word, call it *nil* or *nihil*, constitutes the latter half of the first foot. There are twenty examples, or, if a suspected epistle is included, twenty-one ; and they are these.

her. XVII 127 sed *nihil* infirmo.

art. I 519 et *nihil* emineant.

art. II 280 si *nihil* attuleris.

remed. 410 et *nihil* est.

met. VI 465 et *nihil* est.

met. VII 830 quod *nihil* est.

met. IX 628 ut *nihil* adiciam.

met. X 520 et *nihil* est.

met. XIII 266 at *nil* inpendit.

fast. I 445 sed *nil* ista.

trist. I 8 8 et *nihil* est.

trist. V 5 51 si *nihil* infesti.

trist. V 14 26 et *nihil* officio.

ex Pont. II 2 56 an *nihil* expediat.

ex Pont. II 3 33 te *nihil* ex.

ex Pont. II 7 46 et *nihil* inueni.

ex Pont. III 1 47 ut *nihil* ipse.

ex Pont. III 1 127 qua *nihil* in.

ex Pont. IV 8 15 at *nihil* hic.

ex Pont. IV 14 23 sed *nihil* admisi.

Ib. 284 cui *nil* rethet.

Eighteen where the MSS have *nihil*, three where they have *nil*. But, with the single exception of the last instance, the word, however spelt, is always followed by a vowel ; and that exception is of the sort which proves a rule. In the couplet

nec tibi subsidio praesens sit numen, ut illi
cui nil rethet profuit ara Iouis,

rethet, which can only be interpreted *Rhoetei*, is rejected by the sense, which demands *Hercei* ; and so vanishes the consonant. Now this perpetually attendant circumstance can be no result of chance. Words having the metrical properties of *nil* are often placed by Ovid in this part of the verse with a consonant after them : *remed.* 138 'haec sunt iucundi', 426 'non sunt iudiciis', 507 'nec dic blanditias', 694 'nec dic quid', 701 'nec nos purpureas'. *nil* itself is so placed by other poets : *Lucr.* II 7 'sed *nil* dulcius', 673 'si *nil* praeterea' (in both of which instances the MSS have *nihil*), *Hor. serm.* I 1 49 'qui *nil* portarit', *Mart.* I 98 2 'sed *nil* patrono', *III* 61 2 'si *nil* Cinna'. Ovid must have had a motive for saddling himself with this restriction ; but if he meant the word for a monosyllable he can have had none. His only imaginable motive was to procure a dactyl instead of a spondee for the first foot. *nihil* therefore in the eighteen verses where it occurs is a pyrrhic, and *nil* in the three others should be changed to *nihil*. This may be done without scruple ; for although scribes are less prone to write *nil* for *nihil* than *nihil* for *nil*, the error is both common and early : B and R are two of Horace's best and oldest MSS, yet the one at *carm.* I 28 12 and the other at *IV* 2 37 gives *nil* where the metre proves that Horace wrote *nihil*. And *nihil* was printed in all our three verses by Heinsius, who carried into practice the rule which Seruius tried and failed to formulate at *Virg. Aen.* VI 104,¹ and

¹ 'si pars sequens orationis a uocali inchoet, *nihil* dicimus, ut (II 402) "heu *nihil* inuitis fas quemquam fidere diuis"; si autem a consonante inchoet, *nil* ponimus, ut Iuuenalis (IV 22)

read *nihil* wherever metre gave him the chance, without regard to the spelling of the MSS. Merkel's practice on the other hand was to preserve the spelling of the MSS unless metre forbade him; and at *met.* XIII 266 and *fast.* I 445 he has been followed by all subsequent editors in retaining *nil*, which Guethling and I retained also at *Ib.* 284 when changing *rethci* to *Hercei*, because it was irrational to introduce *nihil* in this verse and not in the other two. But the facts which I have just set forth put a new complexion on the case, and show that Ovid wrote *nihil* in all three places.

In the second and third and fourth foot of the hexameter the case stands otherwise, and Ovid unquestionably admitted *nil*, as at *met.* XV 92 'terra creat, *nil* te nisi tristia mandere saeuo', *amor.* II 1 19 'Juppiter, ignoscas: *nil* me tua tela iuuabant', *ex Pont.* I 1 7 'a quotiens dixi: certe *nil* turpe docetis'. But yet verses where a vowel follows and leaves the form of the word in doubt are much more numerous: *met.* VII 567 'utile enim *nihil* est', XV 177, *trist.* II 195, III 4 51, *ex Pont.* I 2 65; *amor.* III 8 29 '*nihil* esse potentius auro', *art.* II 365, 599, *met.* V 221, VI 25, 305, VII 67, XIII 100, XIV 730, XV 165, 629, *fast.* VI 177, *trist.* I 2 23, II 23, II 259, III 1 9, 13 23, *ex Pont.* III 1 113, *her.* XX 99; *met.* III 590 '*nihil* ille reliquit', V 273, VI 685, IX 148, *ex Pont.* I 1 21, 7 25. The MSS or the best part of them (except that at *met.* XV 165 authority is about equally divided) give *nihil* in all these verses, and so does Heinsius; Merkel and his followers diverge at one place only, *trist.* III 13 23 '*nihil* exorantia diuos', where all of them except Guethling print *nil*, though four out of the five best MSS have *nihil*. In two verses *nihil* is certainly to be preferred, *met.* V 273 'sed (uetitum est adeo sceleri *nihil*) omnia terrent' and VI 685 'ast, ubi blanditiis agitur *nihil*, horridus ira', where *nil* would create a rhythm less acceptable to Ovid. Some might say

"*nil* tale expectes: emit sibi. multa uidemus". One sees what he wants to say, though he has not said it: he does not really mean that he writes or pronounces 'te sine *nihil* altum mens incohat' in *georg.* III 42, nor 'ille *nil*, nec me quaerentem uana moratur' in *Aen.* II 287.

that at three other places we have guidance for our choice: that in *met.* XIII. 100 'luce *nihil* gestum, *nihil* est Diomede remoto' and XV. 629 'temptamenta *nihil*, *nihil* artes posse medentum' the one *nihil* defends the other, and that in *art.* II 365 '*nil* Helene peccat, *nihil* hic committit adulter' *nil* in the first place recommends *nil* in the second. But any such expectation of uniformity is shown to be fallacious by Catull. 17 21 '*nil* uidet, *nihil* audit', 42 21 'sed *nil* proficimus, *nihil* mouetur', 64 146 '*nil* metuunt iurare, *nihil* promittere parcant', Virg. *buc.* II 6 f. 'o crudelis Alexi, *nihil* mea carmina curas? [*nil* nostri miserere?]', Sen. *Med.* 163 'qui *nil* potest sperare, desperet *nihil*', Mart. II 3 1 'Sexte, *nihil* debes, *nil* debes, Sexte', Iuu. VI 212 f. '*nil* umquam inuita donabis coniuge, uendes| hac opstante *nihil*'; and it is manifest that nothing, neither *nihil* nor *nil*, can bring about uniformity in *ex Pont.* III 1 113 'morte *nihil* opus est, *nihil* Icarotide tela'.

Ovid's practice in respect of the first foot appears to be that of most dactylic poets later than Lucretius. Even in Horace and Martial, who allow a consonant to follow, a vowel is much more frequent, and it is invariable in Catullus, Virgil, Tibullus, Propertius, Manilius, Persius, Calpurnius, the Aetna, Lucan, Silius (if I can trust a rapid examination) and Juvenal, though in many of them the number of examples is too small to establish a rule.

About Juvenal I have a short story to tell. The disputed word forms the latter half of the first foot in three verses, VI 331 'si *nihil* est', VII 54 'qui *nihil* expositum', XIII 18 'an *nihil* in melius'. In all three the MSS, or most of them, give the form *nihil*, and so did the editions down to 1886. In that year Buecheler introduced *nil* from the Pithoeanus at VII 54, leaving *nihil* in the two other verses; and his sheep followed him as their tails did them. He was disregarding authority as well as reason, for *nihil* is given at VII 54 not only by the most and best of the inferior MSS but by the lemma

¹ In Valerius Flaccus and Statius I have noticed no example of *nihil* or *nil* in this situation.

of the ancient scholia, which is as good a witness as the Pithoeanus itself; but reason and authority together are no match for that passion of love which is inspired in modern scholars by MSS whose names begin with a P. In my edition of 1905 I made a brief remark on the circumstances and restored *nihil*. The result of my action deserves to be put on record as exemplifying the customs of classical scholarship in the twentieth century. Buecheler, though

placing *nihil* in his text, had exhibited in his apparatus criticus and in his excerpts from the scholia the facts which I have stated, '*nihil* S ω', 'qui nihil expositum'. It was safe to print this evidence so long as nobody took any notice of it; but as soon as I gave it effect by promoting *nihil* to the text, the case was altered. The fetish was in danger, the facts must be suppressed, and Leo in his edition of 1910 suppressed them.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

PHAEDRUS AND QUINTILIAN I. 9. 2.

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR POSTGATE.

In the February—March, 1919, number of the *Review*, Professor Postgate writes as follows:

'We can hardly doubt that the poet of *Inst. Or. I. 9. 2* who composed "Aesopi fabellas . . . sermone puro et nihil se supra modum extollente" and whose "gracilitas" is to be reproduced in the school exercises, was Phaedrus. The Fables then, or rather a selection from them, were a schoolbook at Rome towards the end of the first century A.D.'

With the implied interpretation of the passage in question I entirely disagree. The question whether Phaedrus was used as a school-book at Rome is another matter. On this, too, I differ from the writer, but I speak with less confidence. I may add that the whole of the ninth chapter is important in the history of ancient schools and well worth elucidation.

The whole passage runs thus:

'igitur AESOPI FABELLAS, quae fabulis nutricularum proxime succedunt, narrare sermone puro et nihil se supra modum extollente, deinde eandem gracilitatem stilo exigere condisant: VERSUS primo solvere, mox mutatis verbis interpretari: tum paraphrasi audacius vertere, qua et breviae quaedam et exornare salvo modo poetae sensu permittitur. quod opus, etiam consummatis professoribus (? profectibus) difficile, qui commode tractaverit, cuicunque discendo sufficit. SENTENTIAE quoque et CHRIAEE et ETHOLOGIAE | (? aetiologicalae) subiectis dictorum rationibus apud grammaticos scribantur, quia initium ex lectione ducunt: quorum omnis similis est ratio, forma diversa.'

This ninth chapter deals with the 'progymnasmatia' or forms of exercise in original composition, of which we have full accounts in Hermogenes (with

Priscian's translation), Aphthonius and Theon. All these exercises were, strictly speaking, 'rhetorical,' being preparations for the full dress declamation. But Quintilian complains that through the laches of the 'rhetores' they had fallen into the hands of the 'grammatici,' and his object in this chapter is to suggest a compromise by which the more elementary exercises, and these only, might be retained in the lower school. From the dozen or more in vogue we may say that he selects two as suitable for this purpose. The first is the *μῦθος* or, more exactly, *μῦθος Αἰσώπειος*, for our Greek authorities are careful to say that what we call fables are all known by the name of Aesop, whether they were attributed to Aesop or not. The other is the 'Chria' and its varieties the *γνώμη* or 'sententia' and the doubtful 'ethology.' All these are evidently little moral essays, founded on some saying or significant action, and it will be convenient to speak of them under the single name of 'Chria.' Another exercise, the *διήγησις*, he only accepts under the limitation 'narratiunculas a poetis celebratas notitiae causa non eloquentiae tractandas puto.' That is, if we come across an allusion to Orpheus in our books, the 'grammaticus' may set the boy to write out the story of Orpheus, in his own words, to see that he knows it, but it should not like the other two be used as a set composition. From this point of view it is reserved for the higher school.

Now I think it is perfectly clear from the words themselves that the injunction that boys should learn to tell or write fables 'sermone puro' or 'gracili' has nothing whatever to do with Phaedrus or any other fabulist, but merely refers to the style required from the pupil. And this is confirmed by the Greek parallels. Hermogenes says that the style in the *μῦθος* must be *περιόδων ἀλλοτρία τῆς γλυκύτητος ἐγγύς*. Theon, who on other grounds puts the *χρεία* before the *μῦθος*, says that in the latter the style must be *ἀπλουστέρα* than in the former. I think Dr. Postgate may have been misled by the 'eandem.' The meaning is, I take it, that the 'fable' composition has two stages—the first oral (what the Germans, I think, call a Vortrag), the second written, but in both cases the same simplicity of style is required.

We have now to note that between the 'Aesop fable' and the 'Chria' Quintilian interpolates another exercise, which is not, strictly speaking, one of the 'progymnasmata.' Take a piece of verse,¹ he says, and (1) write it out in prose order, (2) suggest synonyms, (3) paraphrase, précis, or expand it, while retaining the writer's meaning. The directions bear a close resemblance to a question which I have often set as an examiner in Shakespeare in the Cambridge Locals, the formula of which runs thus: 'Put the following passage into modern prose so as to bring out clearly the full meaning.'

When I say that paraphrase was not, 'strictly speaking,' one of the 'progymnasmata,' I mean that, while it does not appear in the detailed accounts, Theon does dwell on it in his prefatory matter, and it was clearly practised in the rhetoric school, though rather as a parallel and auxiliary to the declamation than as a preliminary. Some surprise may be felt that Quintilian, who tells us that it is a difficult job even under the crack rhetoricians² (much more under the 'grammaticus'), should advo-

cate it at this early stage. I suspect that he shared the belief which still makes me advocate it. The candidates often make a terrible mess of it, but I hold to it as the best antidote against reading poetry without thought for the exact meaning.

I believe then that the words 'versus . . . permittitur' have nothing to do with the 'fable.' It is true that, as the construction after 'condiscant' runs on, we have to print them in the same sentence, but that is not a real consideration.³ It is, however, true that nothing which I have said at present argues against the possibility that Phaedrus (and I presume Babrius, for Quintilian has been legislating for Greek studies as well as Latin) were used for paraphrasing. I will deal with that later, but at any rate there is no reason to think that they are *exclusively* meant. It is hardly credible that the exercise should begin and end with the fabulists.

It may indeed be asked why, seeing that the 'fable' and the 'Chria' are both in a way original compositions, while the paraphrase is of a different nature, it is placed between them. The answer is, I think, that Quintilian names the exercises in the order in which he thinks they should be taken up. It is very noteworthy that he grounds his approval of the Chria, etc., on the fact that they 'initium ex lectione ducunt.' In other words he believes in the correlation of studies, and wishes the composition subjects, when possible, to be connected with the literature. The reading in Homer and Virgil might easily supply the periodical 'Chria.' It is true, however, that most of those reported to us come from prose sources which would not enter into class reading in the grammatical school. But I presume a little ingenuity might easily forge a connection between them and the poets read. A very favourite 'Chria' seems to have been 'Isocrates said that the roots of *παιδεία* were bitter, but its fruits sweet.' This might easily be connected with a story of a

¹ 'versus' and 'poetae' of course, because no prose was 'apud grammaticos' at Rome at this time.

² So Spalding takes 'consummatis professoribus,' but, as he says, it is harsh; on the other hand, if we take it as dative the statement seems exaggerated. I am much inclined to Sarpe's

'profectibus' = highly advanced pupils, a phrase which has good parallels in Quintilian.

³ It may be observed that each exercise is introduced by its leading noun, which I have indicated by printing them in capitals.

hero who was chastened by misfortune into wisdom and happiness. Odysseus or Aeneas would do for the purpose. It was perhaps some such reminiscence of his youth which induced the 'Auctor ad Hebraeos' to introduce this very Chria into his twelfth chapter *à propos* of the divine *παιδεία* of the Church.

I imagine then that Quintilian wished the 'Chria,' etc., as a composition exercise, to be taken up when the class, having been trained in literary appreciation on the admirable principles laid down in the seventeenth section of the previous chapter, had arrived at some idea of the 'laudandum in sensibus.' The easiest form of paraphrasing could be started earlier, and the 'Aesopi fabella' was, I suggest, pre-literary. Its groundwork lay in simple children's

stories just above the 'nutricularum fabulae,' and the style was intended to correspond. And the inference I draw from the way in which Quintilian speaks of it, as compared with the other two exercises, is that neither Phaedrus nor Babrius, nor any other poetical fabulist, was used in the schools. This is in itself, no doubt, a speculative argument, but it is confirmed, I think, by two solid facts. If Phaedrus was read, we should have expected some mention, if not of his name, at any rate of his type, in the eighth chapter. And, if the indices are to be trusted, not a single quotation from him is to be found in the whole body of extant 'grammatici' and 'rhetores.' Is this compatible with his use as a school text? It seems to me very doubtful.

F. H. COLSON.

VIRGIL, *AENEID* 6. 859.

Adspice ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
ingreditur uictorque uiros supereminet omnes.
hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
sistet eques, sternet Pœnos Gallumque re-
bellem,
tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.

Marcellus, according to Plutarch, *Marc.* 8. and Propertius, 4. 10, dedicated the *spolia opima*, won from the Gallic chief Viridomarus, to Jupiter Feretrius. Why then does Virgil make him dedicate them to *pater Quirinus*?

The answer is to be found in Festus and Plutarch. Servius saw dimly where the truth lay, as his note shows.

SERVIUS. After a futile attempt to explain *capta Quirino* as *qualia et Quirinus cepit, id est Romulus (patri on this view = Ioui)*, he continues 'possumus et, quod est melius, secundum legem Numae hunc locum accipere, qui praecepit prima spolia opima Ioui Feretrio debere suspendi, quod iam Romulus fecerat; secunda Marti, quod Cossus fecit; tertia Quirino, quod fecit Marcellus. Quirinus autem est Mars qui praeest paci et intra ciuitatem colitur: nam belli Mars extra ciuitatem templum habuit. . . . uarie de hoc loco tractant commentatores, Numae legis immemores, cuius facit mentionem et Liuius.'

For this *lex Numae* we must have recourse to Plutarch and Festus, Livy's reference to the law having apparently been made in one of the lost books.

FESTUS, p. 202 Lindsay, 'opima magnifica et ampla, unde spolia quoque quae dux populi Romani duci hostium detraxit: quorum tanta raritas est ut intra annos paulo (*lacuna of nineteen letters*) trina contigerint nomini Romano: una quae Romulus de Acrone; altera quae Cossus Cornelius de Tolumnio; tertia quae Marcellus Ioui Feretrio de Viridomaro fixerunt. M. Varro ait opima spolia esse etiam si manipularis miles detraxerit dummodo duci hostium *sed prima esse quae dux duci neque enim quae a duce capta*¹ non sint ad aedem Iouis Feretri poni: testimonio esse libros pontificum in quibus ait: "pro primis spoliis boue, pro secundis solitaurilibus, pro tertiis agno publice fieri debere: i esse etiam Pompili regis legem opimorum spoliolorum talem: 'cuius auspicio classe procincta opima spolia capiuntur, Ioui Feretrio dari oportet, et bouem caedito; qui cepit, CCC dari oportet. secunda spolia in Martis ara in Campo, solitaur-

¹ Words in italics conjecturally supplied by Hertzberg.

ilia utra uoluerit caedito; qui cepit, ei aeris CC dato. tertia spolia Ianui Quirino agnum marem caedito; C qui ceperit ex aere dato. cuius auspicio captum dis piaculum dato.''"

PLUTARCH, *Marc.* 8:

καίτοι φαίν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν Νουμᾶν Πομπήλιον καὶ πρώτων ὀπιμίων καὶ δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων μνημονεύειν. τὰ μὲν πρώτα ληφθέντα τῷ Φερετρίῳ Διὶ κελεύοντα καθιεροῦν, τὰ δευτέρα δὲ τῷ Ἄρει, τὰ δὲ τρίτα τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ λαμβάνειν γέρας ἀσάρια τριακόσια τὸν πρῶτον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον διακόσια, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἑκατόν. ὁ μὲντοι πολὺς οὗτος ἐπικρατεῖ λόγος ὡς ἐκείνων μόνον ὀπιμίων διντων, ὅσα καὶ παρατάξεως ὅσης καὶ πρώτα καὶ στρατηγῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνελόντος.

From the above passages it is clear that *prima*, *secunda* and *tertia* were used in two different senses in connexion with the *spolia opima*; (1) with regard to chronological order and reference to the three occasions on which Roman generals won them; (2) in the sense of *first*, *second*, and *third class*. Norden, it is true, gives a different interpretation: 'Nach einer anderen Tradition, die auf ein Gesetz des Numa zurückgeführt wurde, war die Ehre nicht in diesen engen Grenzen eingeschlossen, sondern die drei ersten Soldaten, die je einen Feind spolierten, brachten die drei Spolien der Reihe nach dem Jupiter Feretrius, dem Mars und dem Quirinus dar.' This interpretation, however, is improbable from every point of view, and is not borne out by the statements of Festus and Plutarch. The obvious interpretation of the passages in question is that given by Hertzberg, to the effect that there were three classes of *spolia opima* won by (1) the actual general, (2) officers other than the general, (3) a common soldier, and the rewards and the place of dedication varied accordingly (see *Philologus*, 1. p. 331). That officers other than the general could win *spolia opima* is borne out by Florus (2. 17. 11, 'Vaccaeos de quibus Scipio ille posterior singulari certamine, cum rex fuerat prouocator, opima rettulerat'), and by Valérius Maximus (3. 2. 6, 'eodem uirtutis et pugnae genere usi sunt P. Manlius Torquatus et Valerius Corvinus et Cornelius Scipio. hi nempe ultro prouocantes hostium duces interemerant, sed quia alienis auspiciis rem gesserant, spolia Ioui Feretrio non posuerunt consecranda'). Cp. also Dio Cassius 51. 24.

It is also clear that the term *spolia opima* had come to be generally accepted only as referring to the first class. Further, both Cossus and Marcellus had actually dedicated their *spolia* to Jupiter Feretrius. See Livy (4. 20), who had actually seen the spoils dedicated by Cossus, Plutarch (*Marc.* 8.), and Propertius (4. 10). It may, therefore, be assumed that the second and third classes of *spolia opima* provided for by Numa's law had become obsolete.

How then account for Virgil's statement that Marcellus was destined to dedicate his spoils to Quirinus? That the statement is historically false can scarcely be denied, though it is conceivable that other traditions may have existed. But Virgil, being, as he was, passionately devoted to ancient lore and acquainted with the *lex Numae*, determined to accept its authority. He mistook the meaning of *prima*, *secunda*, and *tertia*, and assumed that they referred to the chronological order of the winning, and not to the class of spoil won. It would not be difficult to misinterpret the *lex Numae*. Or it is possible that Virgil did not make the mistake himself, but followed some older authority who had committed himself to this not unnatural misinterpretation. No other interpretation of the passage would seem possible in face of the evidence. Identification of Quirinus with Jupiter Feretrius is unwarrantable, as is the assumption that there was a statue of Quirinus in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius; even if there were any evidence for this last supposition, it would not justify Virgil's statement.

Who is *pater Quirinus*? The *lex Numae* tells us that he is Ianus Quirinus, another name for Ianus Geminus, the two-faced Ianus of the Forum, whose gates were closed in times of peace: cp. Hor. *Od.* 4. 15. 9, *Mon. Anc. Lat.* 2. 42, Suet. Aug. 22. But *pater Quirinus* would more naturally refer to the ancient deity Quirinus, who forms one of a triad with Jupiter and Mars, a fact which suits the context in the *lex Numae* admirably well: cp. *Serv. ad. Aen.* 8. 663, 'salios qui sunt in tutela Iouis Martis Quirini,' Livy 8. 9, 'Iane, Jupiter, Mars, pater Quirine,' 5. 52, 'Mars Gradiue, tuque Quirine pater.'

That Quirinus was at any rate in some aspects a war-god is clear from Macrob. i. 9. 16, Plut. *Rom.* 29, Dion. Hal. 2. 48 (= *Ἐνυάλιος*). But the whole question of the functions of Quirinus is so obscure that it is impossible to deter-

mine, with any precision, his relations either to Ianus or to the *spolia opima* (see Wissowa, *Rel. und Kult.* p. 139).

H. E. BUTLER.

University College,
London.

NOTES

THUCYDIDES II. 48.

αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πᾶσχοντας. Since Mr. Mair has yet again called attention to this vexatious passage, I take the opportunity of defending by some parallels that innocent double *αὐτός*, which has been so unjustly assailed by distinguished scholars. Plato, *Politicus*, 268 A, *αὐτὸς τῆς ἀγέλης τροφὸς ὁ βουφορβὸς, αὐτὸς ἱατρός, αὐτὸς οἶον νυμφευτής.* Lysias XII. 68, *αὐτὸς ἐπαγγειλάμενος σώσειν τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε.* Aeschines III. 10, *εἰ φανήσεται ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, πρῶτον μὲν πστε ἀναγορευόμενος . . . ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ἐξεῖσιν:* cf. Dinarchus I. 86. Xenophon, *Hell.* II. 3, 28, *νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως.* *Ibid.* 32, *αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελάμενος ὁμῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοὺς ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῇ.* Anab. III. 2, 4, *αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δοὺς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς.* At first sight Galen, vol. xix., p. 371, *οἷον τε αὐτὸ ἦν καὶ αὐτὸ συμμιχθὲν ἀπεκρίθη*, looks similar, but that sentence is corrupt: qu. *οἷον δὲ* (or *καὶ οἷον*) *τοῦτο ἦν*? The emphasis gained by doubling *αὐτὸς* varies in these passages, but certainly the Greeks have no objection to emphasising their meaning by such a method.

ARTHUR PLATT.

University College,
London.

EMENDATION OF THEOPHRASTUS, CHARACTERS.

IN Theophrastus, *Characters*, No. V., Jebb's edition, v. 17 ff., the MS. text reads:

καὶ τὸ δλον δεινὸς τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ λόγου χρῆσθαι· οὐ πιστεύω· οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω· ἐκπλήττομαι· καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι, καὶ μὴν οὐ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήκει· παράδοξόν μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἄλλῳ τινι λέγε· ὅπως δὲ σοὶ ἀπιστήσω ἢ ἐκείνου καταγνῶ ἀποροῦμαι· ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ σὺ θάπτον πιστεύεις.

This passage has called forth a large number of emendations. Editors seem to be agreed that the corruption is concealed in the words: *καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι*. Of these again, *ἕτερον* is clearly suspect. We cannot defend it with Casaubon. To change *ἕτερον γεγονέναι* into *ἐτέρου ἀκηκοέναι* with Petersen and Jebb is too violent a remedy and cannot be defended on palaeographical grounds.

Read *ἐταῖρον* for *ἕτερον* and put a stop after *ἐκπλήττομαι* and a colon after *γεγονέναι*. The Ironical Man's line of reasoning is as follows: This man whom you claim to have told you this extraordinary piece of news has been a close friend of mine. Surely, of all people, he would have told me about it. But he has kept me in total ignorance, hence I do not know what to make of it.

H. G. VILJOEN.

University, Stellenbosch,
S. Africa.

THE READING IN ARISTOPHANES, ACH. 912.

ΔΙΚ. Καὶ μὴν ὁδὶ Νικαρχος ἔρχεται φανών 906
ΒΟΙ. μικρὸς γὰρ μάκος οὗτος. ΔΙΚ. ἀλλ' ἅπαν
κακόν.

ΔΙΚ. ταυτὶ τίνας τὰ φορτὶ ἐστὶ; ΒΟΙ. τῷδ' ἐμά
Θεῖσθαι, ἴττω Δεύς. ΔΙΚ. ἐγὼ τοῖνον ὁδὶ
φαίνω πολέμα ταῦτα. ΒΟΙ. τί δαὶ κακόν 912
παθών
ὀρναπετίοισι πόλεμον ἦρα καὶ μάχαν.

IN line 912, the reading of the MSS. is *τί δαὶ κακόν παθών*. So Paley, who notes that Elmsley rejected *κακόν* as a gloss and read *ἴσθαι ταυταγὶ*. ΒΟΙ. τί

δαὶ παθών; κ.τ.λ. Bentley (followed by Meineke and Ribbeck) reads τί δὲ κακὸν παθών; Paley suggested καὶ τί κακόν, κ.τ.λ. But none of these changes accounts for the reading in the MSS.

The present writer suggests τί δ' ἄδικον παθών; the corruption would arise as follows:

ΤΙ Δ' ΑΔΙΚΟΝ > ΤΙ ΔΑΙΚΟΝ > ΤΙ ΔΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΝ, the syllable ΚΟΝ becoming ΚΑΚΟΝ under the influence of ΚΑΚΟΝ at the end of line 909, three lines above.

In support of this suggestion, it may be pointed out (1) That the Boeotian speaker, in his very next words, says τί ἄδικειμένος; (2) the Scholiast on line 912 says τί ἡδικημένος.

M. KEAN.

Collegiate School,
Liverpool.

EURIPIDES, *HECUBA*, 854-6.

εἰ πως φανείη γ' ὥστε σοὶ τ' ἔχειν καλῶς
στρατὶς τε μὴ δόξαιμι Κασάνδρας χάριν
Θρήκης ἀνακτὶ τόνδε βουλευσάι φόνον.

THE meaning is clear: the speaker (Agamemnon) wishes to gratify Hecuba while safeguarding his own reputation. But the method of expression, as in the text, is confused, and the first τε (following σοι) is meaningless.

Parallel clauses depending on ὥστε are required, and these are obtained by reading δόξαι με in place of δόξαιμι.

J. M. SING.

HORACE, *SAT.* I. IX. 39-40.

'si me amas,' inquit, 'paulum huc ades.'
'Inteream si
Aut valeo stare, aut novi civilia iura.'

How is *stare* to be taken here? (The bore has been telling Horace that he had to attend court, and begs him to wait for him.) The traditional interpretations of *stare* in this passage make Horace say: (1) That he cannot appear as an advocate; or (2) that he cannot stand so long in court; or (3) that he cannot interrupt his walk.

With reference to (1), it may be pointed out that the bore, who has

evidently waylaid Horace in order to get an introduction to Maecenas (*vide* lines 45-47 of the *Satire*), would most likely know that the poet did not belong to the class of advocate.

To take (2), who can tell how long any lawsuit is going to last? Has the bore actually appealed to Horace to enter the court with him? Has he not rather merely asked him to wait for him?

The third interpretation is somewhat more convincing, for Horace has already explained that he had a long distance to cover (*vide* line 18). Porph. says, 'Negat se posse eum exspectare.'

The interpretation now suggested is to take *stare* as meaning 'to be successful.' Horace knows the fellow is a defendant, and feeling a little sympathy he may be imagined to say: 'I swear by my life that I haven't a leg to stand on in a law court; in fact, I don't know a word about law.'

This use of *stare* is found in Horace, *Sat.* I. x. 17, and *Ep.* II. i. 176.

M. KEAN.

QUERIES TO ARTICLE ON PLAUT. *STICH.* 1 FF., CLASS. REV. SEPTEMBER, 1918.

'THE *a* of *vidua* was pronounced short in Plautus's time, as later, so that Synaphea is out of the question.' Is 'short' mistake for 'long' here? How can it be said that Synaphea is out of the question, when all four lines scan with Synaphea, '-ām fu-, -ām so-, -mō quae, viduā vi-, -ūit nam?' Synaphea is observed in every line quoted from this Canticum in this article.

Is Synaphea a mistake for *Synizesis*? 'Colon Reizianum, that favourite colon of Plautus.' Is it so frequent in Plautus? How many examples of it can be quoted from the whole of Plautus's plays all put together?

'Editors of Euripides call *Bacch.* 863 a Colon Reizianum. But surely it is a synopated Pherecratean.' Colon Reizianum is the same thing as a synopated Pherecratean

E

are not unattractive individually, nor perhaps singly, unlikely, but for which positive evidence is altogether wanting. I might, of course, observe that Miss Taylor throughout quotes the wrong book of the *Aeneid*—VII., instead of VIII. But the argument is not affected by that slip. I am more concerned to suggest that her demurrer, in respect of the date of the abbreviation, is a little over-strained. Naturally the abbreviation Aug. would not be so common for Augustus in the first few years after 27 B.C. as it would be rather later on. But its occurrence (and not once only) in the monumentum Anc., which I noted, is sufficient proof that it was not an impossible or altogether unfamiliar abbreviation in the Augustan age, and the argument that it does not occur on coins till 19 B.C. appears to me by no means to prove that it could not be or was unlikely to be used about 27 B.C. I do not think that kind of chronological argument is really permissible. If the abbreviation Aug. never occurred elsewhere in the Augustan period, it would be a different matter. But Miss Taylor's rigid time-test appears to go too far for the intelligent dating of Roman inscriptions on coins or stones. It is not as if the abbreviation Aug. were absolutely unique in the period about 19 B.C. As anyone can see who looks; e.g., at Cohen, it occurs several times on the legends of coins minted between 19 B.C. and 10 B.C. Moreover, that Octavian had an eye on the title *Augur* used by Antony is indicated by a coin of 27 B.C., in which he calls himself *Augur*.

I will conclude with the observation that if, in *Aen.* VIII. 678, *Augustus* is to be interpreted as denoting that the shield of Aeneas showed the figure of Augustus disproportionately large, Virgil expressed himself more obscurely and briefly than is his wont. But here one passes into the region of opinion, where direct proof ceases to be possible.

F. HAVERFIELD.

MANDALUS. RECURA. MALACRUCIA.

My contributions to the last number (C.R. XXXIII. 26) were unlucky. *Mandalus* of the Glossaries is merely a

Latin form of Greek *μάνδαλος* and unsuitable for Martial XIV. xxix. 2. *Recula* has been already suggested in the Paravia text of *Moretum* (line 65). As regards the *malacrucia* of the MSS. of Plautus at *Cas.* 416, it may be mentioned that *Pers.* 574 shows that *mala crux* was not the invariable phrase:

I sis [in] malūm cruciatum. I sane tu—hanc
eme; ausculta mihi.

W. M. LINDSAY.

CICERO, *PRO RAB. POST.* 7. 17.

IN stating the equestrian case against a proposed law to make the order liable to the charge of judicial corruption, which, first by a *lex Sempronia* and later by a *lex Cornelia*, had fallen only on the senatorial or official class, Cicero introduces an imaginary dialogue between a senator and an *eques*. 'Tam es tu iudex [eques] quam ego senator,' says the former. 'Ita est,' retorts the latter, 'sed tu istud petisti, ego hoc cogor. Qua re aut iudici mihi non esse liceat, aut lege senatoria non teneri.' I do not raise the question here whether this dialogue fits the situation in 91 B.C., to which Cicero refers it, or whether, as seems to me more probable, it is a reminiscence of his own advocacy against the well-known proposal of Cato in 60 B.C. I am only concerned with the antithesis between '*istud*' and '*hoc*.' There are, I find, scholars who authoritatively declare that '*istud*' can only mean 'to be a senator,' and '*hoc*' 'to be a *iudex*.' Surely this distorts or destroys the antithesis, misses the point of the argument and leaves '*cogor*' unexplained. If the senator had said 'you are as much a *iudex* as I am a senator,' no doubt '*istud*' and '*hoc*' would have the meanings suggested above. But what he says is, 'you, being an *eques*, are as much a *iudex* as I am, being a senator.' The subject of discussion therefore, to which both '*istud*' and '*hoc*' must be referred, is not the fact of being a senator, or the fact of being an *eques*, but solely the fact or condition of being a *iudex*. The senator's point is that this is common to himself and the *eques*.

That of the *equus* is that there is an antithesis between the senator's position as *iudex* and his own. '*Istud*' therefore means 'your position as senatorial *iudex*;' '*hoc*' means 'my position as equestrian *iudex*.' '*Petisti*' and '*cogor*' then explain themselves. Senators, in spite of their liability to the *lex Sempronia*, had eagerly sought the position between 122 and 81 B.C. *Equites* had of course also desired the position, but both in 91 and 60 B.C. they were confronted with compulsory liability to a charge from which they had so far been exempt. Is there a flaw, which I do not detect, in this interpretation, either in respect of Latinity or logic? Of course the equestrian point, whether made by Cicero or the *equites* themselves, is sophistical, but that is another matter.

E. G. HARDY.

VIRGIL, ECLOGUE IV. 60 FF.

THE following passage, which has just been sent me by a friend, may throw some light on the much disputed question whether the smile in the last four lines of Virgil's fourth eclogue is that of the infant or the mother. It comes from *Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church*, by H. C. Romanoff, p. 8 (Rivingtons, 1868), with an introduction by Charlotte Yonge, who tells us that the writer was an English lady married to a Russian officer stationed in a remote province.

'Román throve beautifully; his first smile and first tear, which are considered by the Russians as harbingers of reason in an infant, were quite epochs in the family history, so much was said about them.'

W. WARDE FOWLER.

'MULE NIHIL SENTIS'

(CATULLUS, 88, 3).

WHY does Catullus call Lesbia's husband a mule? '*Quia nihil sentiebat*,' say some. But nowhere in Latin is *mulus* used as a synonym for ἀνάλσθητος. At Juvenal 16, 23, *mulino corde Vagelli*,

Mayor supports the reading *mulino* (against the *Mutinensi* of the majority of MSS. by a reference to Plautus, *Cist.* 4. 12, 2. So does Friedlaender, and so does Ellis on this passage of Catullus. One may edit a classical author and yet keep a light conscience—for the phrase *mulo inscitior* occurs nowhere in Plautus (whose plays, incidentally, rarely contain twelve Scenes to the Act), though it is alleged to do so by Forcellini's Lexicon.

Others would have it that Catullus calls Lesbia's husband a mule '*sterilitatis causa*.' The union with Lesbia is said to have been a childless one. But it is difficult to find any pertinence in an allusion here to this misfortune.

Umpfenbach, cited by Ellis, would read, with the MSS., '*Mulle*'—understanding an allusion to the acute hearing of mullets, a fact of natural history not more familiar, we may suppose, to the average Roman of Catullus' time than it is to the average Englishman of our own.

Now, if Lesbia was Clodia, her husband was Q. Metellus Celer. The name Metellus was both a proper name and what the grammarians call a 'common' name. If we could find out what the common noun *metellus* means we should, perhaps, be in the way of discovering why Catullus called Metellus a mule. The word *metellus* occurs only in one passage in Latin literature. Festus preserves for us (p. 132, Lindsay) this line of Accius :

calones famulique metellique caculaeque (cauleque codd.).

calones and *caculae* are some kind of soldier-servant or groom. Festus understands *metelli* apparently in much the same sense—he renders it by *mercenarii*. But apart from Festus there is no authority for this explanation, and it obviously rests on an absurd etymology—Festus has derived *metellus* from *metallum*.

We must take the word in connexion with another rare and obscure word, *metella*. *Metella* also is a military word : meaning in Vegetius (*Mil.* 4, 6) a species of wooden basket (*de ligno crates*) employed in sieges : the besieged filled these baskets with stones and emptied them on the heads of the

besiegers. It is supposed that the word is the feminine of an adjective, some such noun as 'machina' *subauditur*. If this be correct *metellus* similarly should be an adjective; and it should naturally also have some connexion with baskets. I would conjecture that the substantive to be understood with *metellus* is *equus*. The 'basket-horse' will be a pack-horse, a military baggage-animal. I would then restore to Accius

calones *mulique metellique caculaeque*.

I can find no example of *famulus* in the sense of a military servant: it should naturally mean a household servant.

Accordingly, when Catullus wrote 'Mule, nihil sentis,' his friends knew very well that the 'mule' was the pack-horse, the *metellus*—just as at 79, 1, 'Lesbius est pulcher,' they readily took the allusion to 'Pulchellus.'

Metellus is, perhaps, like other pieces of Roman vocabulary in connexion with horses, carriages, etc.—*caballus*, *cantherius*, *essedum*, *petorritum*, *ploxenum*—a foreign word. Such imported words are natural in the language of the camp.

H. W. GARROD.

VIRGIL, *AEN.* XII. 473. 519.

Nigra velut magnas domini cum divitis aedes
pervolat et pinnis alta atria lustrat hirundo,
pabula parva legens nidisque loquacibus escas,
et nunc porticibus vacuis, nunc umida circum
stagna volat.

DR. ROYDS tells us that, although to many Englishmen 'swallow' means anything from a swift to a sand-martin, Virgil probably distinguished the species. Thus 'hirundo' must be taken as a generic, not a specific, name. Until the days of Gilbert White the swift was generally believed to belong to the same genus as the swallow and the martin, and doubtless Virgil so classed it. In the passage quoted does not the poet mean the swift? He seems to mark this by the opening epithet, for the blackness has no part in the comparison with the movements of Juturna, while the swift on the wing appears to be black, and has none of the lighter feathers of the true hirundines. The movements described are precisely those

of the swift. I have seen swifts flying in this way over and round the piazza of Volterra, the flock dividing into three when it came to the mediæval tower, and some flying on either side and some through the unglazed windows.

J. S.

Westminster.

POMPEY'S COMPROMISE: CICERO, *AD FAM.* VIII. 11, 3.

HARDY, in his recent examination of 'Caesar's Legal Position in Gaul' (*Jour. of Phil.* XXXIV. 161-221) has disposed of the hypotheses of Hirschfeld (*Klio* IV. 76 ff.) and Judeich (*Rhein. Mus.* LXVIII. 1 ff.) and has proved quite conclusively that Caesar's term in Gaul extended to March 49 B.C. with the implied right of holding his command throughout the year 49. However, all the disputants have found difficulty in comprehending the purport of Pompey's offered compromise to permit Caesar the privilege of remaining till the Ides of November (*Ad Fam.* VIII. 11, 3). I would offer what seems to me a plausible explanation, which incidentally adds a point in favour of Hardy's contention. The passage in question is found in a letter of Caelius written to Cicero in April or May of 50 B.C., after Curio had foiled the attempt of the Pompeian party to abbreviate Caesar's term. The lines read: 'in quam adhuc incubuisse cum senatu Pompeius videtur ut Caesar Id. Nov. decedat; Curio omnia potius subire constituit quam id pati, . . . Scaena rei totius haec: Pompeius, tamquam Caesarem non impugnet sed quod illi aequum putet constituat, ait Curionem quaerere discordias, valde autem non vult et plane timet Caesarem cos. designari prius quam exercitum et provinciam tradiderit.'

The old explanation of Zumpt assumed that the Ides of November was the anniversary of the day on which the law was passed which gave Caesar his second quinquennium in Gaul, but Lange has shown that this was impossible since the day was a holiday on which laws could not be passed. Hirschfeld and Judeich, without attempting to explain the choice of the Ides of November, tried with little success to show that the year

50 B.C. was referred to; Holzapfel (*Klio* V. 113) rightly refers the proposed date to the year 49, but fails to show how the offer could in anyway be called *aequum* to Caesar. Hardy (*loc. cit.* p. 208) says 'Why this date was chosen is not clear.'

Since Pompey's proposal was, according to Caelius, an offer that pretended to be fair to Caesar, Pompey apparently undertook to prove that it gave Caesar his legal term in the province. His offer therefore probably contained a clause which was to restore in February of 49 the forty-five days that the calendar had lost by two previous failures to insert intercalary months, for if these were restored *there would be exactly 365 days in the year 49 before the Ides of November*. It is apparently on the basis of such a clause that Pompey could claim that his offer was fair to Caesar. The reason why this and other details did not appear in the letter of Caelius is that complete copies of the bills and speeches accompanied the letter (*Ad Fam.* VIII. 11, 4).

Curio refused to accept the compromise, since it would expose Caesar to legal action for six weeks. Indeed, as Caelius well comprehended, Pompey had

offered it merely for the purpose of making an impression of moderation. Ultimately he had no intention of permitting Caesar to stand for the consulship *in absentia*. Unfortunately for him, his pretence of moderation only weakened his supporters, and when the real test of strength came a few days later the senate refused to challenge Caesar's claims (*Ad Fam.* VIII. 13, 2).

If this is the solution of the difficulty, the offer must apply to the year 49, for it was made in April or May of the year 50, and there could hardly be a question of intercalation before February of 49. Hardy's contention that Caesar had a legal right to his province throughout 49 is therefore supported by this passage. Let me add that in Cicero's answer (*Ad Fam.* II. 15, 3) to this letter from Caelius: 'Faveo Curioni, Caesarem honestum esse cupio,' we should probably read *honestatum* for *honestum*, for in the light of *Ad Fam.* VIII. 11, 3, the second clause seems to be explicative. Cicero's answer seems to mean: I support Curio's contention, and I wish Caesar to win his consulship.

TENNEY FRANK.

Bryn Mawr College.

REVIEWS

MISS MATTHAEI ON TRAGEDY.

Studies in Greek Tragedy. By LOUISE M. MATTHAEI. Demy 8vo. Pp. xii + 226. Cambridge: University Press. Price 9s. net.

THIS book is written with enthusiasm and sincerity. That is its great merit; and, although the style is somewhat laborious, so that the book is not very easy to read, the effort is worth making, because it is always worth while to listen to a serious person talking honestly about Greek tragedy. Miss Matthaei never makes the mistake, into which some professors, who would be edifying, fall, of condescending to the ancient poets; nor does she follow the bad custom of making Aeschylus and Euripides the excuse for a cheap display of ingenuity. Such

originality as her book claims, is the result of an honest attempt to understand her authors, to report what she finds in them, not to use them as a peg on which to hang some new and brilliant theory of her own.

Therefore, her book is worth reading. But I must be honest myself, and must admit that, with all its sincerity, and although it bears the evident traces of careful, independent thinking, it seems to me to suffer from a grave defect of method. She tells us she has simply taken four plays which interested her, and has tried to show by analysing them 'what are the qualities which make the Tragic Spirit.' I wish she had been content to show the qualities which make the four plays interesting to her. That is

the first and most important thing to do. If you set out to discover 'the qualities which make the Tragic Spirit,' you may fall into dangerous assumptions, by which Miss Matthaei is not the first critic, and will not be the last, to be misled. You may be hypnotised by the thought that 'there are definite general principles' which underlie the plays you happen to be analysing, and, 'indeed every true example of the tragic art.' In demonstrating that the play which interests you conforms in fact to some arbitrary definition of 'the tragic art,' you may read into it some tendency or purpose which neither the poet nor his audience (nor you yourself, when first you found his work worth analysing) had in mind. Explain exactly why the play seems interesting, and you may perhaps contribute something to the body of evidence which will some day be considered by the philosopher who shall find leisure, and sufficient abstraction from more pressing and more valuable pursuits, to propound a theory of 'the tragic.' But read your play with the object and intention of defining tragedy, and you will probably find that you have missed, or, at any rate, misrepresented, the very qualities which first attracted you to your play. Like Aristotle, Miss Matthaei is tempted by the prospect of a definition. She is at her best when she contrives to forget her search for the Tragic Spirit, and has leisure to explain the drama of Aeschylus or of Euripides. And, indeed, her search is itself no such free adventure as she seems to think. When she tells us, at the outset, that 'every true tragedy turns on a conflict,' we hang a little on the word 'true,' and suspect that we shall meet the names of Hegel and of Bradley in her argument. And, sure enough, we are to hear in due course that every tragedy turns not only on a conflict whether of principle or of persons, but also on a conflict in which each of the opposing forces is compounded duly of evil and of good. Tragedy is a conflict, not between black and black, black and white, white and white (which would doubtless be impossible), but always, if it be 'true tragedy,' between black and white and white and black. It seems so helpful, and it fits in so well with a particular sort of cheerfulness about the uni-

verse. It is not surprising that many honest readers are content to let Hegel and his followers confuse their minds. But the doctrine, which is harmless enough when you apply it to the *Prometheus*, and which does little more than introduce a note of vagueness in our author's treatment of the *Hippolytus*, has disastrous results when we try to foist it on to an appreciation of the *Ion* or the *Hecuba*. With Miss Matthaei's elucidation of the *Prometheus* I have no quarrel. Her conception of a progressive Zeus, who, like his victims, has something to learn, and ultimately learns it, I believe to be in conformity with the ideas of Aeschylus. Her interpretation, though it is not altogether new, is, I think, a valuable contribution to the study of a play whose theology is a test, and a stumbling-block, to many of the modern 'orthodox.' Her analysis of the *Hippolytus* is, on the whole, both just and sympathetic, with its appreciation of Phaedra, whose tragedy derives from an excess, not a defect, of a certain sort of modesty of mind. But her general theory of tragedy leads her, I venture to suggest, into serious, almost ridiculous, error, when it makes her treat Apollo, one of the tragic antagonists of the *Ion*, with an exaggerated metaphysical respect. Apollo, we are to understand, represents in that play not merely a disreputable aspect of popular mythology, but also, as by a mystery, the inscrutable element in circumstance, the tragic riddle which forms the background of all human life. Whither this sort of theorising leads us we realise, with something of a shock, when Miss Matthaei gravely infers, from the obvious effectiveness of Ion's final insistence on an answer to the question of his parentage, that Euripides, you see, was not a determinist! Similarly, since the *Hecuba*, if it be a 'true' tragedy, must involve a conflict between two principles or persons, each of which is partly good and partly bad, we are seriously asked to believe that the sacrifice of Polyxena in that play stands for the tragic assertion of the good of the community, as overriding the good of the individual, while Hecuba's appalling treatment of Polyxena represents the tragic issue of the counter assertion of the injured individual's personal claim. The theory is not

so crudely stated; but that is essentially Miss Matthaei's view. I suggest that, if she had never theorised with Hegel and with Bradley, she might (as her appreciation both of Polyxena and of Hecuba seems to show) have given us a better interpretation of the tragedy. She is right in thinking that the play has unity of conception. She is right in thinking that the key to that unity is in the contrast between Polyxena, the willing victim, and Hecuba, the fury, turned, in the very moment of perfected vengeance, into a wild beast. But Euripides, I suggest, was not thinking of the conflict between 'the good of the community' and 'the good of the individual.' He was showing something more moving, more important. Whatever other human beings may inflict on Polyxena, they can not really hurt her spirit. Hecuba, who takes the way which most of us would take, can have her vengeance, it is true. She can torture her enemy, as he deserves,

we think, to be tortured. But the effect on herself is, that she loses her humanity; she becomes a beast.

The chapter on 'Accident' has the defects and the merits of the book. The tendency to look for generalisations, classifications, and a system, will probably attract some readers, because most English readers, though they would be surprised to be told it, really care a good deal more about philosophy than they do about art. For my own part, I find it difficult to believe that either Aristotle or his modern followers do much service to literature by laying down rules for artists or their critics. But here, as throughout the book, there is something attractive, if I may say it, something *digne*, about Miss Matthaei's work, which makes me want to treat it respectfully, even when I am most doubtful as to the direct assistance it will give me in the understanding of Greek tragedy.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

Plutarch's Lives. With an English Translation by BERNADOTTE PERRIN. Vol. V. (Loeb Classical Library.) Pp. ix + 544. London: Heinemann, 1917. 7s. 6d.

A TRANSLATOR of Plutarch's *Lives* has in many respects a happy task. His subject has long ago proved its power to attract and to charm a wider circle of men than any other classical writing. The warriors and statesmen, presented to us by the prince of biographers, appeal to common humanity in a way that philosophers or even poets can never do; and the public affairs in which they played their part bear continuous resemblance to the events of any and every age. The translator has therefore few dull pages to trouble him, and he can count upon readers who are predisposed to welcome his work. In the fifth volume of the Loeb Plutarch, now before us, there is a profusion of entertaining matter. Pompey, Marcellus, Agesilaus, and Pelopidas are all characters of strong human interest, as well as of historical importance. In the *Life of Pompey* we

are reminded of recent events by the menace of the pirate ships, which, like the elusive submarines of to-day, seriously hampered the commerce of the Mediterranean and made food scarce at Rome. When Pompey was appointed to the supreme command against the pirates, prices immediately fell, a fact which the populace duly appreciated. In the *Life of Marcellus* we read how Archimedes defended Syracuse with his wonderful military engines. This defence is described in the Greek with a vividness which almost makes us feel that the account came originally from the pen of some ancient war correspondent. Professor Perrin's translation at this point is a good piece of work, picturesque, clear, and vigorous.

In preparing his translation, Professor Perrin has consulted the previous English versions of the *Lives*, and as a rule to good effect. He writes fluently and naturally, and does not all the while suggest to us the scholar laboriously trying to keep in touch with his original. He can turn the Greek neatly into idiomatic English, and he avoids harsh and ill-sounding sentences. The

translation gives evidence of skill and care. Here is a fair specimen, taken from the *Life of Pompey*, ch. xxiii., p. 173:

For life in the robes of peace has a dangerous tendency to diminish the reputation of those whom war has made great and ill-suited for democratic equality. Such men claim that precedence in the city also which they have in the field, while those who achieve less distinction in the field feel it to be intolerable if in the city at any rate they have no advantage. Therefore when the people find a man active in the forum who has shone in camps and triumphs, they depress and humiliate him, but when he renounces and withdraws from such activity, they leave his military reputation and power untouched by their envy. How true this is, events themselves soon showed.

Given the space, one could take many such passages and show, by comparing them in detail with other translations, the advance that Professor Perrin has made upon his modern predecessors. Besides this, a grateful word is due from all lovers of Plutarch for the extreme convenience of this edition, which gives the Greek text and English version side by side, with many useful notes and cross-references, and a valuable index, containing in brief compass much information about the persons and places mentioned in the book. In these respects the Loeb Plutarch stands alone. What we miss in it, and in other modern versions too, is dignity. We are badly in need of a translation suited to the twentieth century, as North's was suited to the sixteenth. The language of such a translation must be the common speech of to-day, but it must not be commonplace. Dignity comes, partly at any rate, from the use of simple, direct utterance. If we say 'subsequently' for 'later' or 'afterwards' (p. 365), 'frequently' for 'often' (p. 475), 'dispatch' for 'kill' (p. 367), 'stationed himself' for 'took his stand' (*καταστάς*, p. 243), 'superiors' in a context where 'betters' would fit the sense (p. 401), 'assistants' (*ὑπηρέται*, p. 19) where 'underlings' would give just that touch of scorn which the passage demands, or if we use cumbrous phrases like 'under the circumstances' (p. 277), we take the edge off our speech. Dignity depends also upon the respect which the translator feels for his author. It

would be impertinent to say that modern translators of Plutarch do not respect him, but certainly their writing does not often glow with any warmth or enthusiasm. There is in Plutarch, heavy though his style may sometimes seem, an undercurrent of real eloquence which is part of the man's own kindly and earnest nature. Much of this eloquence may be lost if the translator is not alive to its presence, and does not value it and make an effort to reproduce it. North's great work, judged simply as a translation, would hardly be accepted by scholars to-day, in view of our strict notions of what a translation should be; but his spirit is worthy of all imitation. 'Now for the author,' he says in his preface, 'I will not deny but love may deceive me, for I must needs love him with whom I have taken so much pain.' Would not a little of North's frank admiration and affection put life and fire and dignity into the somewhat cold pages of our more scholarly versions?

Two other points may be mentioned. The use of the second person singular is usual with us in the scriptures and liturgical language, and also in poetry; but it is not our common speech, and no one nowadays uses it in prose. It would seem better, therefore, to avoid it in translation, except perhaps where there is danger of ambiguity. Professor Perrin is not consistent on this point, and any reader who compares for himself the spirited report of conversation on p. 239 or p. 461 with the stilted speech on p. 21 or p. 411 will judge which form is preferable. It is a great gain, too, if poetical quotations can be turned into verse. The effect of the original is needlessly lost if iambics or hexameters are reproduced in pseudo-verses which possess neither the irregular rhythm of prose (for they are made to stand apart from the surrounding prose) nor the regular rhythm of verse. This point may be thought small in itself, yet a translator who aims at a high standard of work cannot afford to neglect it.

The following misprints occur: p. 20, note, *Ἰδεῖν*, no accent or breathing; p. 68, *τοτε συνηγαυια*, no accents; p. 84, *χώρα* for *χώρα*; p. 172, *μέτ* for *μετ*;

p. 175, Asclepias for Asclepius; p. 188, *Εκτορα*, no accent or breathing; p. 217, 'legitimate,' misspelled; p. 307, last

two lines, final letters wrong; p. 437, Marcu for Marcus.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

EUTHYMIDES AND HIS FELLOWS.

Euthymides and his Fellows. By JOSEPH CLARK HOPPIN. Octavo. Pp. xvi+186, with 48 plates and 36 illustrations in the text. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917. \$4.00.

THE group of vase painters here described consists of Euthymides, the central figure, of Phintias, and 'Kleophrades,' in all probability his partner and pupil, and of Hypsis, whose relation is less easy to determine. To the student, usually condemned to search for the material he desires among numerous periodicals and repertories, the book will be indeed welcome; not only is it the first of its size to be sufficiently illustrated, but it contains also condensed and valuable information on most of the questions involved. To the expert it will afford pleasant matter for controversy; some thirty unsigned vases are attributed to the several painters, and various problems of the early R.F. period considered.

Dr. Hoppins' method is to discuss each artist in three sections: the signed vases are first given a description equivalent to that of a catalogue; the evidence they afford is then summed up and the individual peculiarities of drawing minutely analysed; thereby the reader is taken into the author's confidence, and can watch how the evidence is applied in the final section which deals with the attributed vases.

Euthymides is treated somewhat more fully than in the earlier monograph. Emphasis is laid on his consistent use of the proportion 1 : 7 for head and body, and the comments he inscribed on his own pots are pleasantly characterised as an ancient attempt at advertisement. Ten vases and fragments are assigned to him in addition to the original ten; these include the Vienna pelike with the murder of Aegisthos (after Furtwängler) and three small kylikes, attributed by Hartwig to Phintias, one at Athens bearing the signature *Φυρτίας*

ἐποίησεν. If the hand that painted it was really that of Euthymides, not only would his partnership with Phintias be attested by inscriptional evidence, but he would appear in a new light as one of the more skilful of cup painters. Was he capable of a pose so free from awkwardness and a composition so ingenious? Unfortunately the Bocchi plate, which might have guided us, survives only in fragments.

Phintias is considered to be 'inferior in technical skill,' but 'possessing the elements of a bigger style.' It would appear that his development was arrested by the good fortune that placed him at the head of an atelier. The fact that his drawing became stereotyped, though regrettable from an artistic point of view, makes reconstruction of his work on the lines of this book most satisfactory. With Hypsis it is otherwise. His work is, on the whole, individual, and his people like demure children with big heads and feet, but its details are more elusive. Therefore the attribution of the Amphora B.M. E. 253, on the strength of its details and without regard to the general impression, is unconvincing. From the productions of the Kleophrades painter are selected six, illustrating Euthymides' influence.

The author does not purpose to speak much of the relation between Euthymides' circle and its contemporaries, apart from the rivalry with Euphronios and a suggested connexion between it and the "Andokides" group. This connexion is cited in favour of the theory that the four painted in B.F. technique: nevertheless, except in the case of Phintias' early kylix, their style shows too great an advance on that of Andokides to allow any resemblance to be used as proof. With reference to Andokides, is not the heterogeneous nature of his wares too much emphasised?

In the preface is mentioned the

impossibility of discussing the work of Euthymides apart from that of his colleagues. This is not only because they are allied in style, but because several of the unsigned vases are believed to be by two painters. Collaboration of this kind has been advocated by various scholars, but one has the impression that it is too often appealed to, and that the appeal is the outcome of insisting too strictly on uniformity of drawing. That the back or shoulder of a vase should be left to a subordinate is quite probable, in the case of an equal the process would have little to recommend itself, and neither a kylix of the 'Kleinmeister' type nor the British Museum Pamphaios kylix amounts to evidence.

One cannot be too grateful for the various tables and résumés the book contains. The analyses of composition by a scheme of essential lines are an interesting experiment, though naturally they neglect what is an equally good criterion, the spaces. Apart from the value of the illustrations in relation to the text, they are illuminating as a collection of works entirely of one period.

For a long time the science of vases has needed more books to come between the monograph on the one hand and the monumental folio on the other. Just such a book is *Euthymides and his Fellows*: it would be well if other painters could be chronicled in the same way.

W. LAMB.

A HISTORY OF GREEK ECONOMIC THOUGHT.

A History of Greek Economic Thought.

By ALBERT AUGUSTUS TREVER. One vol. 9½" x 6½". Pp. 162. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1916. 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book is a dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Chicago University. It is planned as a history of the theoretical views entertained by those of the Greeks—philosophers for the most part—who have attempted a scientific investigation of economic subjects. It excludes, therefore, the history of Greek economic conditions, even where these may be regarded as the expression of a settled conviction. Three-fifths of the book are properly devoted to Plato and Aristotle, the only considerable authorities for whose beliefs information in sufficient detail is forthcoming. The remainder, apart from the introductory and concluding chapters, discusses pre-Platonic thought, Xenophon, the Orators, and the minor Socratics and post-Aristotelians—the two last being somewhat inconveniently grouped together under the description of 'Minor Philosophers.' It is, I think, unfortunate that, in the case of Xenophon, no attempt has been made to distinguish the views of Xenophon himself, chiefly contained

in the minor treatise on *Ways and Means* (πρόποι), from the opinions of Socrates, for which, in this sphere at any rate, Xenophon is our main source. The consequence is that, though there are many references to the Socratic point of view, what Socrates himself maintained is nowhere explicitly set forth. Some estimate of Socrates' contribution should have been formed; and, if the Cynic and Cyrenaic outgrowths had been examined in the same connexion, a clearer light would have been thrown on Plato's own development.

The chapters devoted to Plato and Aristotle are written clearly and carefully, and provide a useful compendium of the economic principles which are discussed or adopted by these writers.¹ Several of the passages which Mr. Trever examines have been vigorously debated by previous critics, and, even though his conclusions may not be accepted in every case, his arguments are presented with fairness and moderation.

The exposition of the thought of the earliest and latest periods is less satisfactory, and seems to have been written

¹ An error on p. 38 arises from the omission of *ἐνκα* in the quotation from *R.&A.* 371 B; and on p. 39, *Laws* 918 B is very imperfectly cited.

with the object of rounding off the central portion of the book.¹ Mr. Trever has pointed out that economic science was not developed by the Greeks as an independent branch of knowledge; and he is aware that it is seldom justifiable to read an economic significance into popular maxims or the fragmentary sayings of philosophers. Nevertheless, he has sometimes included matter which would have been more in place in the companion volume on economic conditions which he has promised to undertake. Scattered quotations, bearing on wealth or labour, from poets such as Hesiod, Theognis, and Euripides, are not of much value, unless the character and purpose of the writings in which they occur are carefully explained. Similar considerations apply to the philosophical schools. The statement (p. 132) that Antisthenes, 'though despising wealth, upheld the dignity of free labour,' is altogether misleading. It is based on Diog. Laert. VI. 2, which is a good instance of Cynic paradox. Inasmuch as no one doubted that grinding labour (πόνος) was an evil thing, it was a disturbing message to learn that the greatest of the Greek heroes proved the contrary by his habitual selection of discomfort

in preference to ease. The treatment of the Stoics is equally inadequate. It is impossible to understand their position without some reference to the theory of ἀξία, the supremacy of ἀρετή, and the range of the καθήκοντα in correspondence with the various ἀδιάφορα. There are also some positive errors, such as the fixing of Zeno's birth in the year 320 B.C., and the assertion that he 'eulogised poverty,' which is based on a misapplication of Cic. *Fin.* V. 84 (p. 139, nn. 8, 10).

By his frank confession of possible errors the author goes far to disarm criticism. It must, nevertheless, be stated that the formal defects of the book are serious. The misprints, especially in the Greek quotations, are too numerous to mention. Other mistakes, such as 'Dichaearchus,' 'Hippodamas of Miletus,' 'Isomachus' (for Ischomachus), 'Thucydides Mythhistoricus,' 'Plato's Politics' (for *Politicus*), suggest by their repetition that the printer is not alone to blame. The system of cross-reference is loose, as in the constantly recurring 'cf. *infra*,' and often inaccurate (e.g. p. 17, n. 1; p. 79, n. 4). Several of the quotations are carelessly made, and, as they stand, are misleading or unintelligible. Besides those already mentioned, examples occur at p. 15, nn. 7, 12; p. 132, n. 2; and p. 141, n. 12. It is obvious that the book required a more searching revision than it has received.

A. C. PEARSON.

GAETANO DE SANCTIS: *STORIA DEI ROMANI*.

Storia dei Romani. Vol. III.: *L'Età delle Guerre Puniche*. By GAETANO DE SANCTIS. One vol. in two parts. 8vo. grande. Part I. xiii+432; Part II. viii+728, with 8 maps and plans of battles. Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1916 and 1917. Lire 30 for the two parts.

IN 1908 Dr. H. Peter, reviewing with respectful admiration in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* the first two volumes of Professor De Sanctis' *Storia dei Romani*, doubted whether the author could continue his work on the vast scale of its early stages. It seems a

novelty to find a German critic quailing before the magnitude of a learned work, but if the present instalment of the *Storia* has reached Dr. Peter, he must feel reassured concerning the staying power of Professor De Sanctis. Over 1,150 pages are devoted to the First and Second Punic wars, and of the letterpress a good half is in the small print of notes and appendices, revealing a study of astonishing minuteness and precision, which takes account of the period in every aspect, military, political, antiquarian, topographical, and chronological, and is perhaps above all valuable for its most searching

analysis of the sources. But Professor De Sanctis is never one of those who fail to see the wood for the trees. His narrative is of a rare freshness. If all the notes and critical matter were taken out and published separately for the use of students, probably no Roman history in existence is so likely as this to rouse and hold the interest of the general reader, leading him with a sure hand through the details of campaigns and Roman politics. The author in his preface shows a certain anxiety lest those who do not know his other work should think him inclined to tell a tale rather than to trace and estimate religious, intellectual, or economic movements, and explains that war was the predominant element in the life of third-century Italians, so that the main business of their historian is to relate their wars; but wherever Professor De Sanctis finds occasion to summarise large tendencies, he does so with a masterly touch, and with a conciseness altogether admirable.

The book opens with a clear and very interesting account of the Carthaginian republic, its origin, the geography of its territory, its constitution, and civilisation, with a full discussion of the ethnology of North Africa and the relations existing between Carthage and the tribes subject to her, as well as her connexion with the mother city of Tyre and the growth of her hegemony over the other Phoenician colonies in the west. In one of the 'Statistical Notes' which form part of his first Appendix (I. p. 87), Professor De Sanctis, attempting to calculate the population of the Libyo-Phoenician cities, rebukes Beloch and others, who seek 'to belittle the importance of the Punic wars, declaring that the Phoenicians in Africa were too few ever to have succeeded in making the west a Semitic region. They were certainly not less numerous than the Latins, who for their part knew how to Latinise the country. The difficulty of assimilating the natives lay, not in the numbers of the Phoenicians, but, if anywhere, in their self-regarding attitude of isolation among their subjects. In this respect Phoenician imperialism differed from Roman, and was more akin to Anglo-Saxon rule, which has often been wrongly compared

to that of Rome. But we cannot say that this isolation would have lasted for ever, if conditions had changed.'

After this sketch of the origin and growth of Carthage the history goes straight to the opening of the first Punic war. The gravity of the Roman decision to intervene at Messina is very well brought out. No one in Rome foresaw the winning of sea-power, the conquest of Sicily and thereafter of the world, or the terrible struggle in store for the city. 'Perhaps many of those who gave their vote would have been disposed to withhold it, had a clear vision of the future been before them.' But in any case 'war between Carthage and Rome was inevitable. . . . Only if the Italian federation had allowed itself to be permeated by Greek culture, and if the progress of industry and commerce had made it less ready to take up arms could a way have been found for the peaceful existence of the two western powers side by side, and for Mediterranean civilisation to develop on a basis of reciprocal balance between a few large states, differing in nationality but similar in culture' (I. p. 101). Two moments, one at the beginning of the first Punic war, the other before the battle of Zama (which Professor De Sanctis bids us call Narragara, though force of habit is once too strong even for him, and in the *errata* we find, 'p. 555, for Zama read Narragara'), are selected as turning Rome irrevocably into the pathway of imperialism. The first was when M. Valerius resolved to march against Syracuse, thereby starting Rome on a career of conquest, whereas her previous wars for the unity of Italy had been 'defensively-offensive' (I. p. 114); the second incident was Scipio's rejection of the peace proposals of Syphax in 204, 'one of those occasions which mark out a nation's inevitable course, without contemporaries or perhaps even the principal actors being aware of what they were doing' (II. p. 526). 'Would Rome,' asks the author at the end of the book (II. p. 560) 'have the strength to resist temptation? Would she be able to take up once more a sober and quiet life, and put a curb on the militarism which was flourishing after seventeen years of warfare? The immediate future of Italy

and civilisation depended on the answer to such questions. And the answer had already been virtually given by the advance of M. Valerius beyond Messina, and of P. Scipio beyond the Castra Cornelia.'

In other passages the author seems to credit the Roman capitalist and Junker class with an excessive clearheadedness in their imperialistic aims. It may be doubted whether in the year 241 even 'the most hide-bound capitalists' welcomed peace because they perceived the necessity of 'husbanding the robust class of Italian peasants,' if they were to have armies wherewith to achieve foreign dominion (I. p. 195). If, in the author's opinion, the first steps towards empire were taken unconsciously, it only needed the first Punic war, the Roman request to Seleucus Callinicus on behalf of their kinsmen the people of Ilium, and their diplomatic intervention on the Acarnanian question, to create a full-blown spirit of unlimited aggression in the east (I. p. 278). But in general the moderation and well-balanced character of his judgement is remarkable; at the same time he never fails to come to a definite conclusion, after reviewing apparently the whole of the literature, ancient and modern, on the several points with which he deals. To confute him would require in almost every case a learning equal to his own. There can be very little in any of the chief European languages relevant to his purpose that has escaped his watchful eye. He cites articles in English and American periodicals constantly, but is possibly unfair to larger consecutive English works, such as those of Freeman, Bevan, or Heitland, in comparison with the notice accorded to the corresponding output of France and Germany.

A very important essay on the composition and structure of Polybius, which Professor De Sanctis rightly considers indispensable for the understanding of his observations on the sources and chronology of both Punic wars, is found at the end of I. chap. iii. The final summary of his critical work on all the sources (continued systematically at each stage of the book) is that, except where traces can be found of the earliest annalists, 'very little is trustworthy

that does not come to us directly or indirectly from Polybius. This proves that, however ruinous and reprehensible "polibiolatria" may be, there is no less danger in criticism which places and discusses on the same level contradictory passages of Livy and Polybius, or worse, of Polybius and Appian or Cornelius Nepos. Anyone who has formed a clear idea of the stuff that the younger contemporaries of Polybius put forward in Rome as history, may discuss and criticise Polybius, but cannot fail to respect him as a historian' (II. p. 671). Towards Livy's 'buon gusto' and 'buon senso' the author is affectionate (II. p. 656), but while full of sympathy for his tendency to 'live over again in the past the drama of his own age, with profound sincerity' (II. p. 194), and making every allowance for the difficulties in his way, he shows no mercy for the shallowness of Livy in research and his other infirmities. Polybius also comes in on occasion for censure, as 'his thought is frequently quite the reverse of profound, but this lack of profundity does not permit us to introduce arbitrary corrections into his text' (II. p. 147), after the manner of various modern scholars. With the 'perversity' (*secentismo*) of Laqueur and other textual and higher critics Professor De Sanctis has little patience, though ready enough to accept reasonable emendations and theories of second recensions; he describes the attitude of these writers as 'the tendency to substitute in investigation the idle play of ingenuity and the pursuit of novelty at all costs for the cautious and leisurely sifting of data' (II. p. 99). He considers that it would be useful to attempt a reconstruction of Caelius Antipater, in order to complete and verify previous analyses of sources, and thinks that the hypotheses put forward by him in the sixth Appendix to to II. chap. vi. would form a starting-point for part of this work, although he does not wish to undertake it himself, and does not approve of the efforts of Wölflin, O. Gilbert, and Sieglin in this direction.

The book contains careful studies of vexed questions, such as the reform of the *comitia*, the Roman calendar (which the author thinks was not very different

in the third century from the Julian calendar) and the topography of all the battles. The maps and plans are excellent in their clearness. Two slips not in the short list of *errata* are (1) I. p. 219 'Ol. 104, 1' where 140 should be read, and (2) II. p. 465 : Cartagena is not on the 'sponda occidentale' of Spain. Others can hardly fail to lurk in a work of so great a size, but they do not obtrude themselves. The index

has been tested and not found wanting. There is a clear and detailed chronological *conspectus*, and but one *desideratum* seems lacking—namely, a bibliography of the modern authors cited. Italy should receive the highest congratulations on herself producing a memorial of her national story, which is complete and complex without degenerating into lengthiness.

ADELA MARION ADAM.

CATALOGUE OF ARRETINE POTTERY IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.

Catalogue of Arretine Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. By Professor GEORGE H. CHASE, Ph.D. Quarto. Pp. xii + 112, with thirty plates and two figures. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916. \$10.

CONSIDERING that there exist so few Catalogues of Roman and Arretine Pottery, it is pleasant that their quality should exceed their quantity. In 1908 the Loeb Catalogue appeared, a pioneer so splendid that one expected it would be unique; nevertheless the book under discussion, by the same author, and indebted in a large measure to Mr. Loeb's generosity, is on an almost equally sumptuous scale. Since the publication of the Loeb and British Museum Collections little has been added to our knowledge of these wares beyond articles on some isolated examples and an inaccessible German treatise: we have here an accession of valuable material, partly new, partly familiar, and all the more welcome because, of the Arezzo Collection itself no catalogue is as yet in existence.

The method differs very slightly from that adopted in the author's earlier work. The classification is according to subject, moulds and vases being described in the same section, and accompanied by very illuminating notes on artistic parallels, questions of epigraphy, etc. An entertaining feature of Arretine Pottery is the way in which the ingenious potter by permutations and combinations, achieved a variety of designs from a limited number of stamps. Dr. Chase

makes a point of this in the Introduction, and, when describing the vases, points out and letters those that occur more than once. As the types are so important in the case of figures, it would have been interesting to add a list of the ones in this collection, both for future reference and for comparison with the original list of Dragendorff. But the book includes no form of index, a fact inconvenient in a catalogue as full of information as this, and regrettable from the point of view of catalogues yet to be written.

On the other hand the reader, accustomed to emulate *Oliver Twist* where illustrations of archaeological books are concerned, has here no excuse for so doing: the thirty plates are beautiful in themselves, and reproduce, often more than once, the principal pieces in the collection.

Including vases, fragments, and miscellaneous objects, the collection comprises 143 items. There are many excellent and almost complete examples of the more common types; others which have a special point of interest, as the mould No. 1, with Nike, Artemis, and Apollo (the Greek names seem in spite of certain protests to have stuck to the Roman potter's handiwork), which is the first instance in pottery of a subject familiar elsewhere; others again which appear to be unique, such as the well-known mould with the death of Phaethon by Bargates (No. 66) and the Egyptianising fragment (No. 62): there are none however which, like the 'Birth of Dionysos' in the Loeb Collection, reconstruct as whole scenes what had

previously been known by fragments only. The signatures belong to some nine different workshops, the largest proportion, of course, to that of M. Perennius: one inscription, RHITV PISA, is believed to occur for the first time on No. 60.

Our historical outlook has altered very little since Oxe's more rigorous system of dating was adopted, and since the supposed slave Tigranes was given the credit of being identical with M. Perennius himself. Hence the introduction to this, the Boston Catalogue, is a modification of that of the Loeb Catalogue. It contains a short history of the finds of Arretine Pottery and their chroniclers from the fifteenth century downwards; a description of the technical processes involved in making the

pots; an account of the potters represented in the collection, and some remarks upon the forms of art influencing and influenced by Arretine Pottery, with the suggestion that some of the Renaissance work should be included under the latter heading.

When one turns the pages of the book for the first time, noticing the uniform print and long paragraphs, one has the impression that it is a catalogue disguised as a treatise; closer inspection shows that is not only a catalogue, but, save for the question of indices already noted, a most businesslike one. Moreover, an account of this kind and of objects so dainty and attractive cannot fail to be a source of enjoyment as well as of information.

W. LAMB.

THE DESCENT OF MANUSCRIPTS.

The Descent of Manuscripts. By A. C. CLARK. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1918. 28s. net.

IN this country we are growing richer in works on palaeography, pure and applied, and textual emendators are acquiring a habit of appealing to its principles to justify their suggestions (which as likely as not they have reached by quite other processes); emendation by intuition, such as belonged to the Italian scholars praised by Ellis in his Commentary on Catullus, is not possible for us alien workers; it is for us painfully to acquire knowledge of the ways and habits of scriptoria under the guidance of a Lindsay or a Traube, to mark down the lurking ligature or the ensnaring i-altum, before we can hope to emend texts even plausibly, and even then, as Professor Housman reminds us, it is necessary to be a textual emendator. Most of the books, however, have dealt with minuscule scripts and only cursorily with majuscules; and yet it is about the dark days of majuscules that we have most to learn, for it was in this period that our texts seem to have suffered most loss—not from deliberate corrections (for that fiendish art was probably rare and little known before the eleventh century and still

rare then¹), but from accidental blunders, omissions, and misreadings, incorporations of marginal matter and such like; errors due to human frailty and stupidity rather than to human wickedness and bumptiousness.² It is really, though not intentionally and solely, on pre-Caroline days that Professor Clark's book throws much-required light; he shows us what we have to learn from the length of the line, the number of lines in a page or column, and in general the shape of the book and the past history of a text, so that in fancy we get appreciably back nearer to the author's own days.

'The general object,' says Professor Clark, 'of this book is to show how internal evidence furnished by MSS. can be utilised to cast light upon the filiation of *codices*, and in some cases upon the archetype from which they are derived; also to apply such knowledge to the criticism and emendation of the text.' This evidence of the MSS. themselves is obtained by omissions, when they

¹ P² in Livy's third decade is such an irresponsible, ignorant meddler who writes a self-satisfied 'recognobi' after each book, but it is a problem where he got his right corrections from, if they are his.

² Shipley's *Certain Sources of Corruptions in Latin MSS.* is a very useful guide for the passage from uncials to Caroline.

are of known length, and by repetitions (dittographies), and by transpositions; together they show, as a general rule, the length of a line, *i.e.* certain point in one line to the same or nearly the same point in a line below of the MS. copied; frequently there is a contributory cause, *viz.* ὁμοιότης; sometimes valuable evidence as to line-omission is obtained from supplements in the margin. When lines thus discovered vary in length they testify to the presence of more than one ancestor. In uncials, for instance, a two-columned form with 16 to 18 letters in the line is common; but some of the earliest majuscules, as the palimpsest of the *de Republica* fragments, average 10½ letters; when omissions show a number of such lines, *i.e.* with 10½ letters as a unit, they point to an ancestor of this kind. Of course, some omissions must be made by mere accidents, especially by a scribe with roving eyes; but the larger number of omissions—I would venture to say the vast majority of them—are due to the eye passing from one point to a corresponding point in another line. Not only a line or two but a column, a page, and even a quaternion can be calculated, as Professor Clark has done. But caution is necessary: 'it is only when we have a large number of facts all tending in the same direction that chance becomes unlikely or impossible.'

It may be said that this is a very interesting study for the leisured, but of what advantage is it for textual emendation? Apart from considerations mentioned above there are others: if a reading is found in one family of MSS. and absent from another family (or only found in the margin of one), this principle supplies a test for its genuineness, for, as Mr. Clark says, 'an interpolator would not have been so cunning as to conceal his inventions by a device intended to show that their omission was palaeographically possible.' For instance, I applied the principle to a case of transposition as we believe it to be in Liv. 4. 2, *reminiscerentur—amplioremq̃ue*, to see how the passage would stand the test in the matter of length; the number of letters concerned is 18×8—a result surprisingly satisfactory, it would seem. Moreover, with the support of the prin-

ciple of the line, we have restored two passages to the text of Livy 6-10: one a passage which Gelenius found in his codex and is in part found in the margin of M; the second, or rather a second and a third which are quoted by grammarians; in both the fall from the text was natural, owing to ὁμοιότης.¹

Single lines, varying as they do in length, are however not so telling as long passages where the average comes in, and the longer passage in Bk. 4 is of greater value than the shorter ones, especially in the matter of transpositions, where these are necessary or suspected; the value of the principle appears below with reference to Livy and in this work in the chapter on the pseudo-Asconius.

Otto Rossbach (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, October, 1916) has applied with happy results the method of the 18 lettered line to some readings of Spirensis in Livy's third decade; in fact, no textual critic can afford to ignore the leading principles of this book, whether he approves of them or not. He is hardly likely to command attention, unless he applies the principles or offers something better to account for his emendations. If he fills a gap, existent or supposed, in his text (for instance, in the manner of the late Moritz Mueller's 'free composition'), his labour will be lost, as being unsupported; if he makes a transposition, he must strengthen it scientifically. Furthermore, the value of the method appears in dealing with slight repetitions, with variants, doublets, and 'voces nihili,' that invade the texts; sometimes they are from lines above, sometimes from the margin, which very often or rather more frequently get into the wrong place, even into the wrong column. These are well known, but Professor Clark has done service by showing how this may have happened; he has treated these questions scientifically: instead of saying 'inserted from above,' or 'from the margin,' in the old slipshod way, he has shown exactly how this may have happened.² For instance, he shows how

¹ Cf. Preface to vol. 2 of Liv. 6-10, when it is published!

² In the Medicean of the first decade of Livy marginal supplements are often far above or below the right place; evidently the scribe found them in the margin with or without marks for reinsertion.

Cic. *Phil.* xiv. 13 appears after an interval of 951 letters at § 15, and how in Cic. *Phil.* ii. 106, a 'vox nihili' is due to a doublet in § 104 after an interval of 953 letters. Livian texts bear this out in various ways. A remarkable 'vox nihili' appears in the text of some MSS. in 7. 1. 8, *nemo sic*, which ultimately was fully developed into a complete sentence; *ut in pluribus*, 26. 48. 12, is another; of repetition of part of a word (for such it appears to me) I may quote 45. 2. 5; Vindob., our sole authority, goes back 51 letters to *paucorum* and repeats a mysterious *pauci* which puzzles editors; Vindob. seems to be copying a MSS. which resembled itself, a MS. containing 25-26 letters to the line.

Further, we can get an understanding as to what happened in making 'shorter texts'; this is illustrated by shorter texts of Horace, Demosthenes' *Midias*, and the Acts, and particularly Cic. *ad Fam.* vi. 9. 1-10. 6 on pp. 147-153. All this is worked out in detail with considerable patience and consummate skill: in the first three chapters omissions, omission marks, and marginalia are dealt with, which ought to be read by all who have even so much as handled an ancient text; this is followed by evidence from Primasius' Commentary on the Apocalypse; chapters 5-11 have, what we expect from Professor Clark, a masterly account of Ciceronian palimpsests, texts of various Ciceronian works, and Asconius—chapters dealing specially with the subject under review, which are packed full of exceedingly interesting and valuable matter, and giving incontrovertible testimony of the truth of the doctrines enunciated; chapters 12 and 13 treat of MSS. of Plato and the Paris MS. of Demosthenes. An 'Addenda' illustrating the various points from English (in addition to those given in chapter 1) and other MSS. will be interesting to students of English texts. Full Indexes complete the volume.

I have noticed only one misprint: on p. 264, Livy 31. 3 cannot be right, as Bk. 31 has nothing to do with Vindob.; tracing it to Heraeus, I find he has 'Ibid. 31. 3,' i.e. 26. 31. 3, but neither is it there.

It will perhaps be suitable to set

forth a number of examples of omission from Livian MSS. of the third decade.¹ The examples are taken at random and are not complete. In the second half of the decade, where we have the Spirensian tradition (called S here) as well as Puteanus, I have noticed among smaller omissions the following on the part of P (P has an average of 17 or 18 letters in his line, sometimes he falls to 14 or 15, sometimes, but rarely, rises to 20 or 21; he has incomplete lines, too, marking real or sham paragraphs):

	Letters omitted.
28. 14. 9 ne aperirent (δμ.)	11
28. 15. 2 die iure etiam (δμ.)	13
27. 7. 4 supplicationes	14
28. 23. 4 ab tergo in gente (δμ.)	14
29. 21. 5 quod suum non esset (δμ.)	16
29. 35. 14 deueham equitatus (δμ.)	16
29. 1. 10 atque exercendorum (δμ.)	17
27. 7. 9 praeuissit urbanus (δμ?)	18
27. 12. 2 non iter quietos facere (δμ.)	20
28. 23. 1 iure belli in armatis re	20
30. 4. 6 hasdrubal ab syphace ab (δμ.)	20
30. 12. 18 institit deinde reputa	20
28. 11. 8 metu . . . minime (δμ?)	25
29. 33. 9 garrantum omne tempus usque (δμ.)	25
29. 1. 11 multisque proeliis rem publicam	28
30. 17. 9 donis . . . dedisse (δμ?)	35
(18+17)	
26. 51. 8 nunc . . . decurrebat (double δμ.)	54
(3×18)	
29. 26. 8 nauigantibus . . . silentio (δμ.)	54
(3×18)	
29. 12. 9 retinenda . . . Hispania (δμ.)	63
(3×21)	

and in 24. 32. 9 *postero die servi ad* (17) are omitted by P but added by P¹ (i.e. P himself) in the margin; here he seems to have omitted a line but noticed it (there is no δμ.).

In 30. 33. 15 there is an omission of 17 letters, in 30. 35. 9 of 25 (which could be shortened to 21) and in 30. 37. 10 of 18, all without δμ., by CB, and evidently therefore by P (but here P is lost).

Of these, in 28. 11. 8 if *in agros*, which I suspect for other reasons, is a marginal addition, the line is reduced to 18 letters; on the contrary, in 28. 23. 1 there is an acknowledged loss of a word or words before *iure*, which may or may not have been in P's model; 29. 33. 9, P's model, may have

¹ I have discussed some of the first decade in the Preface of the forthcoming vol. 2.

gone wrong on *Garamantum* and telescoped *tempusq.* 29. 1. 11 is clearly reducible by writing *remp.* or *rēp.*

In 27. 32. 7 there is an omission and distortion:

S¹ had *omnes copias | ad propinquum Eliorum |* (19) *castellum Pyrgum uocant |* (18) *eduxit*; P has *castellum pyrgum uocant copias omnes* before *eduxit*. It would seem that P's model had *copias omnes eduxit* only, but the omitted words *castellum Pyrgum uocant* (18) in the margin. P naturally inserted them wrongly; I see no other way of explaining the phenomena.

It seems then that P's model was of much the same shape as P, but longer and not so dumpy; the shorter lines rather suggest a predecessor of the line-length of the palimpsest of the *de Rep.*; the few (if there are really any) of 25-26 letters would be two of these.

The larger omissions of P (27. 2. 11-27. 3. 7), or about 1120 (18 × 62) letters, seem to point to the loss of a page of two columns; if so, the model resembled the Veronese palimpsest (first decade) or the Vatican fragmentary palimpsest of Bk. 91, which have thirty lines of two columns to a page. The larger omission (26. 41. 18-26. 43. 9), of which S (as shown by the Supplement in *Agemensis*) has preserved two folios, or four pages,² to judge by the size of the loss of P in Bk. 27. (It would seem by the matter that there is complete loss of another folium still.)

A recognised distortion in P is 22. 10. 2. He has inserted between *Quiritium* and *quod* the words *quod duellum—Alpes sunt* (corrig. Lipsius)—i.e. exactly four lines of 18 letters; for P writes *PR* for *populo Romano* and *qui ui* for *qui*; it would seem that the words had fallen out into the margin and were reinstated in the wrong place. In 22. 18. 10 Luchs has changed *ab continuus cladibus ac respirasse* to *ac respirasse ab continuus cladibus* (as C's corrector apparently did long before); Valla's correction is less likely, if we realised that 19 letters are concerned;

P, confusing *ab* and *ac*, wrote *ac respirasse*, discovered his omission, and, 'more suo,' then wrote *ab continuus cladibus* (and said nothing about it³), or P's model was responsible.

In 22. 32. §§ 1, 2, 3, P's order is §§ 3, 1, 2. Valla (in A⁴) marked the passage, and Claude du Puis (in his P) suggests a transposition; Grynaeus (ed. Frob. 1531) transposed as now accepted; there are 18 × 10 letters in §§ 1 and 2 and 18 × 20 in § 3. It looks as if part of a column got in before the other part.

In a list of dittographs which I have made in Bks. 23, 24, 25 there are ten normal lines (or multiples) repeated, one slightly exceeding, seven of 24-26, but all, I think, showing a normal line + a repeated word or words, and six of 29-31, which are abnormal, but suggest that the line is the cause of the repetition. I think they are all due to P himself, not a predecessor; but we must remember that P (and perhaps P's model) has incomplete lines, making paragraphs even where continuity of writing is required (cf. Clark, p. 46).

I must add one from 26. 29. 9: *inicum | extra sortem conlege optionem dari provinciae iniquum* |, with difference of spelling (not unusual in P): 47 letters (16 + 17 + 14 actually) repeated.

But on the whole I am not inclined to set much store by these repetitions; I believe the line-principle fixes their 'terminus ad quem,' but nothing limits their 'terminus a quo'; the scribe may or may not go back to any starting-place.

The Spirensian tradition, on the other hand, has omissions: in 30. 28. 11 S omitted *pulsos se Hispania* (6μ.) or 16 letters, but P has it twice, to make up for S's deficiency; this would suggest that S and P are descended from an ancestor of like shape. In 29. 21. 6 the Turin palimpsest (classed as of the same ancestry as S) omitted originally *restitui*

¹ For S's lines see below.

² In the Medicean of 1-10 there are two distortions of the text, probably due to the displacement of quaternions in the predecessor of M; similarly in O a quaternion appears to be lost after 4. 30. 14.

³ This is P's way: he does not call unnecessary attention to his mistakes and he does not like to mess his beautiful parchment; when he repeats half a word from a line above he quietly goes on as if nothing had happened (I am not sure that the larger repetitions are not corrected by him); Vindob. seems much the same.

⁴ See *Class. Quart.* XI (1917), pp. 154 ff., 'The Codex Aegenensis and Valla.'

... *Locrensiūm* (ὁμ.) or 59 (3 × 20) letters, and similarly in 29. 21. 5, *si quid* ... *repeteret* (ὁμ.) 33, where T² gives *comp̄raehenderet*.

S omits in 27. 11. 12 *concedente collega* 17; in 28. 29. 4 *quid optaverint* (ὁμ.) 14; in 29. 37. 7 *ipsorum colonia-rum* 17.

Longer omissions by S are mentioned by Rhenanus at 27. 7. 14 and 26. 43. 6 of uncertain length, as he does not give details (he says a page, but means a folio); these are apparently due to the scribe, not to wanton destroyers; but the Munich folio of S—viz. 28. 39. 16—28. 41. 22¹ shows 4,000, more or less, letters in the folio, so if the losses are due to the scribe, the uncial MS. from which S is descended was rather smaller than P's model.

But the evidence of C, as being a direct copy of P, and of other copies of P, is instructively bearing on Professor Clark's principle of omission based on ὁμ. and line or line only (or thereabouts). C omits 22. 22. 21–23. 1 *quoque*—in *Hispania* (no ὁμ.), 76 (4 × 19) letters. Here P has

Romanos quoque et
..... (3 lines)
haec in Hispania quo
que

with a deleted *quoque* between *Carthaginienses* and *concedere*; in 22. 39. 21

C omits *metuit* ... *agentem* (ὁμ.), 37 letters, which looks like 18 + 19, but actually P has | *metuit* ... *ni*|*hil* ... *agen*|*tem te ratio*. My second example is still more instructive: in 22. 55. 3 *clamor* ... *mortuique* (ὁμ. of *que*, 58 letters—i.e. 3 × 19, but P has *clamor* | *lamentantium muli*[*erum* ... *pa*|*lam* ... *mor*|*tuique*, lines of 18 (ending with *clamor*), 16, 14, 15 letters). In 26. 2. 10 C omits *praesidio* ... *essent*, 35 letters. P has *essent* in middle of second line under *esset*. We must interpret the canon rather liberally in some of these; but we are dealing with small amounts, against which Professor Clark warns us. Moreover C is copying majuscules into minuscules, and evidently read somewhat ahead in making his copy.

In 30. 38. 12–39. 1 C omits *reddita Claudium* (no ὁμ.), 15 letters; in 30. 42. 17 *victis quam vincendo* (ὁμ.), 18; and in 30. 45. 2 *militum* ... *per*, 26; but we have no means of knowing what P had here (Luchs' Proleg. p. lviii).

B omits *ex duobus exercitibus* (19 or 17), without ὁμ., in 30. 41. 5, and the Munich fragments has dittograph in 23. 49. 2: after *periculo essent* the scribe goes back and repeats *alterum ut quae in naues* (19 or 20).²

C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS.

¹ (*München. Cod. Lat.*, 23491). The late A. H. Kyd copied this remaining (if it does remain now) folio of S entirely out for me shortly before his lamented death.

² As A. H. Kyd, who sent me notice and readings of these fragments, pointed out, this was due to the *essent*, with which P ends both lines.

RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS, 21: THE CLASSICS IN BRITISH EDUCATION.

Reconstruction Problems, 21: The Classics in British Education. London: Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, Imperial House, Kingsway, W.C. 2, etc., 1919. Price 2d. net.

THIS is an admirable pamphlet, temperate yet thorough, summarising in 'fourteen points' just what the keen but (sometimes) inarticulate friend of the Classics needs to know, if he is to take up his parable and give cogent reasons for the faith that is in him.

The writer takes a broad view, and he avoids 'fine writing.' Salient features are the valuable references to the Book of the Princeton Conference (with some of its most striking facts in *précis*) and to the statement on the Greek question by M. Albert Mansbridge, representing the W.E.A. The claims of Greek are convincingly put, and the importance of Latin as a 'pivotal' subject is not neglected—in particular on the linguistic side; an argument that might be clinched in one word if we agreed

to call a spade a spade and Latin (not Latin but) European, as being the one language on which all the other languages that matter in modern Europe are alike based.

The pamphlet deserves the heartiest welcome and the closest attention that

all friends of the cause can give it. If the Classics are to survive as an *effective* force in the reconstructed scheme of national education, it must be on some such lines as those advocated here : *ἐν τούτῳ νικήσουσιν*.

D. A. S.

NOTES AND NEWS

At the Annual General Meeting of the Northumberland and Durham Branch of the Classical Association, held on February 22, it was decided to invite the parent Classical Association to visit Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1920, as it is hoped that the buildings of Armstrong College may at an early date be evacuated by the military authorities.

At the last ordinary meeting of the Branch in 1918, the Rev. Dr. Dawson Walker, Durham, read a paper on 'The Influence of the Stoic *diatribe* on the style of St. Paul's Epistles,' and at the first meeting of 1919 Dr. J. Wight Duff, Newcastle, read a paper on 'Velleius Paterculus as a representative of Silver Age prose.'

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

. *Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

Andreades (A. M.) Sir Charles Dilke and Greece. 8½"×6". Pp. iv+58. Athens: A. Raptane, 1918. Dr. 2: On Money and the buying Power of the Precious Metals in the Byzantine Empire. 8½"×6". Pp. ii+42. Athens: Tarousopoulos, 1918. [No price given.] Constantinople: its Population and Wealth in the Middle Ages. 8½"×6". Pp. vi+249—ii+297. Athens: Sakellarios, 1918. [No price given.] The Economic System of Greece, from Heroic Times till the Establishment of the Kingdom of Greece. Vol. I., Part 2. 9¾"×7". Pp. xii+624. Athens: A. Raptane, 1918. [No price given.]

Beazley (J. D.) Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums. 11"×8". Pp. x+236. Oxford University Press (for Harvard University), 1918. Half cloth, 30s. net.

Fowler (W. W.) The Death of Turnus: Observations on the XIIth Book of the Aeneid. 7½"×5". Pp. viii+158. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1919. Cloth, 6s. net.

Greece before the Conference. By Polybius. 7¼"×4¾". Pp. xxvi+120. London: Methuen and Co., 1919. Cloth, 5s. net.

Hermathena (No. XLI.) 9"×5¾". Pp. ix+175—330+iv. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1919. 4s.

Janssen (J.) C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Domitiani (Doctor's Dissertation). 9½"×6¼". Pp. iv+96. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1919.

Kopperberg (S.) Polybii Historiarum Liber XXX. quoad fieri potuit restitutus (Doctor's Dis-

sertation). 9½"×6¾". Pp. viii+104. Amsterdam. J. H. Kok, 1919.

Lofberg (J. O.) Sycophancy in Athens (Dissertation for Doctorate). 9½"×6½". Pp. xii+104. University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, Illinois, 1917.

Moore (C. H.) Pagan Ideas of Immortality during the early Christian Centuries. 6¾"×4¾". Pp. viii+64. Oxford University Press (for Harvard University). Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.

Murray (G.) Aristophanes and the War Party: A Study in the Contemporary Criticism of the Peloponnesian War. 6½"×4". Pp. 48. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1919. 1s. net.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri XIII. Edited by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt. 8"×10½". Pp. iv+236. Cloth.

Sandys (J. E.) Latin Epigraphy: an Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions. 7¾"×5½". Pp. xxiv+324. Cambridge: University Press, 1919. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.

Thompson (T.) and *Srawley* (J. H.) St. Ambrose 'on the Mysteries' and the treatise 'on the Sacraments.' (Christian Literature Series.) 7¼"×4¾". Pp. 144. London: S.P.C.K., 1919. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.

Wright (H. G.) The Life and Works of Arthur Hall of Grantham. 9"×5½". Pp. x+233. Manchester: University Press, 1919. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

The Classical Review

AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1919

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

XII.

Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

286 ἦνδ' ἐπὶ πῶς αὖτε ἐπὶ τὸν μῦθον.

The suggestion of ἦρχέ τε μῦθον would remedy the metrical defect of this line, but there is room for an alternative course by which εἰπέ τε μῦθον might be maintained and the preceding ἐπὶπῶς found guilty of trespass.

There is no need for any severe treatment of the supposed offender. It is only the unmetrical termination that would suffer if we were to read

ἐπὶπῶς εἰπέ τε.

Ἐπὶπῶς may be fairly inferred from εὐπὶπῶς reinforced by κατὶπῶς, with which it would be fairly synonymous, ποδὶπῶς and δυσπὶπῶς, which last indeed might be the true reading in l. 64.

It is no derogation to the temple that it should be described as 'fitting,' the word being put in the mouth of Apollo. The vaguely inadequate epithet 'lovely' (ἐπὶπῶς) suits neither the character of the locality as represented in the *Hymn*, nor of the god himself. In 521 Nitzsch's 'lofty,' 'elevated,' seems preferable, and the possibility of two separate words being confused together cannot be left out of account.

In 295 ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς represents an earlier ἐπὶ σφί, and there can be little doubt that the true reading of 297 is :

ὡς ἔργον, φῶς ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

299 κτιστὸν λαόν, ἀδύμην ἐμμεναι αἰεὶ.

As the temple itself would be κτιστὸς and not the stones, the material of which it was built, most editors adopt

Ernesti's *ξεστοῖσιν*, and Mr. Allen has suggested but not adopted *τυκτοῖσιν* as well as *ρυτοῖσιν*. He has certainly inserted in his text many worse conjectures, notably and most recently Marx's miserable *ἀμφ' ἡμέων* in l. 171. Here, in view of the frequent confusion of η and ι (v. remarks on l. 13), we should perhaps read, as closer to the tradition, *κμητοῖσιν*, cf. *πολύκμητος*. The simple adjective is not found, as is expressly stated in the *Etym. Magn.*; but though this fact accounts in some measure for the corruption here, only the most arid pedantry could object to *κμητός* on that account. The stones are 'worked,' as we say 'dressed,' with hammer and chisel.

* * *

316 αὐτὰρ δ' ἡ ἡγεμόνως γέγονεν μετὰ πᾶσι θεοῖσι
καὶ ἐμὸς ἦφαιστος, ῥικνὸς πόδας, δὲ τέκον αὐτὴ
ρίψ' ἀνὰ χερσὶν ἐλούσα καὶ ἐμβαλον εὐρεῖ πόντῳ.

For γέγονεν 'is' we should certainly read γηγόνει 'was born.' The malformation was clearly the cause and not the effect of the fall. Here was determined not to rear a cripple and she takes no blame for her conduct. On the contrary, she still (321) blames Thetis for her rescue-work.

It follows that the pathos of δὲ τέκον αὐτὴ is quite misplaced, and the dogmatic judgment of Allen and Sikes who say the words 'are not to be touched' is again mistaken. Ruhnken was right in the main. The words are a very simple and easy corruption of δὲ τε καὶ αὐτὴ, which is naturally and smoothly followed by ῥίψ' ἀνὰ χερσὶν ἐλούσα. Of course, after the appearance of τέκον the smooth sequence is broken,

and Demetrius Chalcondyles in 1488 showed his perception of the difficulty by a remark on the margin 'λείπει.' Fortunately he did not immediately proceed to fill up the supposed lacuna by concocting a line of his own, as Mr. Allen has done to the misleading of one editor already.

The ruthlessness of Here expressed by the words καὶ αὐτή should not be missed. Some revolt against its open avowal probably enough caused the appearance of the affectionate and loving but most inept τέκον.

* * *

324 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τεκόμεν; καὶ σὴ κεκλημένη ἔμπης
ἥ ῥ' ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν, οἱ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι,

We have here a deplorable instance of ill-advised retrogression. Messrs. Allen and Sikes say in their note, 'editors after Demetrius have read ἦν ἄρ' as third person; "even if I had borne her, she would have been called thy daughter."' They are obliged to admit that the sense is excellent. Yet they will have none of it, but adopt a doubtful emendation of Matthiae's, involving a forced emphasis on κεκλημένη, a misapplication of ἔμπης, and the necessity of understanding ἄλοχος or ἄκοιτις, for which there cannot be found any justification. Σή alone makes Here, the dignified *matrona Iuno*, talk like a young married lady in the honeymoon, 'Only, only call me Thine.' They explain thus, 'I had at least the title of your wife (although I have been neglected).' It might fairly be asked when she lost that title, for otherwise εἶμυ would be better than ἦα in every respect. Lastly this view completely disables καί, which cannot well join a question to an affirmation.

To avoid doing any injustice to Messrs. Allen and Sikes it is only fair to say that they make two objections which they call serious to ἦν the third person: (1) *κεν* or *ἂν* would be required, (2) the MSS. are unanimous in reading ἦ with variations of accent.

The second objection cannot avail much, seeing that they themselves do not adopt ἦ and moreover admit that ἦν ἄρ is found in Γ m. 2, while their ῥ' ἄρ in answer to Hermann simply gives the case away.

Perhaps the best answer to the first objection, which entirely depends on an erroneous punctuation that conceals the proper correlation of the sentences, would be to present them in a more readable form. The alteration of the tradition is but slight:

οὐ κεν ἐγὼ τεκόμεν, καὶ σὴ κεκλημένη ἔμπης
ἦεν ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν, οἱ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι;

'Might not I have borne her, and would she not have been called among the immortals who occupy the wide heaven thy daughter all the same?'

Οὐ κεν or οὐκ ἂν, if a traditional error is to be preserved, belongs equally to τεκόμεν and to ἦεν: καί hitherto useless is rehabilitated: ἦεν ἐν accounts by a lipography of ἐν for the traditional ἦ, not ἦα, and we are quit of the stopgap ῥα or ἄρα, which can hardly be right after no fewer than five words in its clause.

I am inclined to suspect that παῖς ἐμοί rather than παῖς ἐμός is the true reading in 327, ἐμός comes from 317; but this is a small matter compared with the difficulty presented by 329 f.:

οὐδέ τοι εἰς εὐνὴν πωλήσομαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σείο
τηλόθ' εἴουσα θεοῖσι μετέσσομαι ἀθανάτοισιν.

I note in passing that the τηλόθεν οὔσα of the MSS. has been rightly abandoned, not by Mr. Allen (v. Vol. V. *Homeri Opera*, 1912), but more recently by Mr. Evelyn-White in the Loeb Classical Library edition. This however is only a question of form that any intelligent schoolboy might be trusted to decide.

The real difficulty is that the goddess is made to declare:

θεοῖσι μετέσσομαι ἀθανάτοισιν

'I will consort with the immortal gods,' when it is clear she has no such intention, and in fact does the very opposite (331):

ὥς εἰποῖσ' ἀπονόσφι θεῶν κίε χωμένη κῆρ,

and that there may be no shadow of doubt as to her whereabouts the hymn-writer specifically adds (343):

ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἔπειτα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
οὔτε ποτ' εἰς εὐνὴν Διὸς ἤλυθε μητιέστεος
οὔτε ποτ' εἰς θῶκον πολυδαίδαλον, ὥς τὸ παρὸς περ
α' τῷ ἐφεσφομένη πυκινὰς φραξέσκετο βουλὰς.
ἀλλ' ἦ γ' ἐν ρηοῖσι πολυλλιστοῖσι μένουσα
τέρπετο οἷς ἱεροῖσι βωῶπις πότνια Ἥρη.

In spite of this explicit declaration Messrs. Allen and Sikes insinuate vaguely that there is no contradiction in 330, or if there is one, they say it may be attributed to the author's carelessness. Never was criticism more ill-founded. The carelessness belongs to the two critics not to the author. What has happened is plain enough. The tradition is at fault here, as often, owing to well-intended but stupid interference on the part of some rhapsodist or pietist. I take it as certain that the author wrote, what his own words prove him to have written, *μετέσσομαι ἀνθρώποισιν*. The goddess does exactly the same as Demeter under different conditions had done in the preceding *Hymn* (v. 92-3, 319, 331-2, 354-4, 384-5). She retires to her temple, her *boudoir*, among men. But why then do we find *θεοῖσι . . . ἀθανάτοισι*. Simply because the respectful and reverent rhapsodist could not allow the dignity of Here to be lowered by mixing with the baser sort. She must mix with her peers, the *Dei maiorum gentium*, not with mere human beings. Certainly not. It would be an *ἀπρεπές*. Consequently *ἀνθρώποισι* must give way to *ἀθανάτοισι*, which is further secured by reading *θεοῖσι* for, it may be, an original *βροτοῖσι*, but it would probably be more pleasing to the palaeographic mind to think that he inereally changed

ἀλλ' ἀπο σείω . . . θεῶν τε.

Compare with this passage *Hes. Op.* 202, where as I have elsewhere suggested *λαῶ . . . φρονέοντι καὶ αὐτῷ* has, for the sake of respectability and social exclusiveness, been turned into an impossible and irrelevant

βασιλεῦσι . . . φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς.

In the quoted lines 343-9 for *ὡς τὸ πάρος περ αὐτῷ ἐφεζομένη* I would read,

*ὥς τε πάρος περ
αὐτῇ ἐφεζομένη (αὐτῇ, 'in state').*

The traditional *αὐτῷ* is an evident modernisation which should not be maintained, and another modernisation presents itself in

335 *Τιτῆνές τε θεοί, τοὶ ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες
Τάρταρον ἀμφὶ μέγαν, τῶν ἑξ ἀνδρες τε θεοὶ τε,*

where Allen and Sikes with strangely

mistaken dogmatism pronounce Ilgen's *ναιετάουσι* 'quite impossible.' They are too rash. I agree that 'τοὶ is of course a relative pronoun.' They can see this; but they cannot see that everyone after the early epic period, for many centuries, readers and transcribers and hearers alike, would naturally be glad to take it as the article, and for this purpose to change any *ναιετάουσι* into the more familiar and usual participle, so producing the recognised elementary *ὁ πρᾶττων* construction known now to every schoolboy, but necessarily quite alien to the old epic speech.

In 337 *αὐτόθι νῦν* is undoubtedly the true reading. It is clearly the classical and earliest example of Mr. Asquith's 'here and now.'

* * *

361 *πυκνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλίσσεται, λείπε δὲ
θυμὸν
φρονὸν ἀποπνεύουσα', ὁ δ' ἐπέεζατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλ-
λων·*

Gemoll says the words *λείπε . . . ἀποπνεύουσα'* are extremely difficult. Allen and Sikes declare with foolish dogmatism that suspicion of the text is quite unwarranted. The key to the difficulty is to be found in the observation that in the early epic the *θυμός* (and the *ψυχή* may be included) *in articulo mortis* invariably quits the creature or man, never the man the *θυμός*. Ruhnken realised this and Matthiae at first, though the actual conjectures they based on it were most unsatisfactory, *λείβε δὲ φοῖνον, θυμὸν ἀποπνεύουσα'* (Ruhnken) and *λείπε δὲ θυμὸς Φοῖβου ἀπὸ νευρῆς* (Matthiae).

Now to suppose that *λείπε δὲ θυμὸν* can be justified in spite of Homer by Pind. *Pyth.* III. 180 and by Virg. *Aen.* IX. 349 is idle, and a mere misuse of authorities, useful often enough in Homeric criticism, but on such a point totally useless, against Δ 470, M 386, Π 410, 743, T 406, γ 455, λ 221, μ 414, which I must beg my reader to accept as quoted.

It remains to be seen whether any more simple and convincing restoration than Ruhnken's and Matthiae's can be made.

My contribution is certainly more

simple and direct ; whether more convincing I leave others to decide :

πικρὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλίσσεται, κείτο δὲ θυμὸν
φοινὸν ἀποπνέουσ',

'It lay breathing out its life in blood.' The clause is a most telling iteration and enforcement of 358, the final stage of 358 :

κείτο μέγ' ἀσθμαίνουσα κυλινδομένη κατὰ χώρον.

The poet has varied *κυλινδομένη κατὰ χώρον* into *ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλίσσεται* and also *μεγ' ἀσθμαίνουσα* into the later and intenser stage of *θυμὸν φοινὸν ἀποπνέουσα*, and some foolish rhapsodist probably thought it was left for him to intensify *κείτο* into, as he would suppose, a more fatal and mortal *λείπε*.

* * *

374 αὐτοῦ πῦσε πέλωρ μένος ὀξέος Ἥελίοιο.

There is no point in emphasising the preceding *κείθι* by *αὐτοῦ*. Still *δεινὸν* (Schneidewin) and *αἰνὸν* (Bergk) are too remote. *Αὐτως* (*v. on H. Dem. 371*) is probable, involving practically the change of one letter only.

* * *

390 οἱ θεραπεύονται Πυθοὶ ἐνι πετρήσσει.

If the line be genuine (in my opinion it is an interpolation to explain *ὀργίονας* and should be bracketed, not rearranged as by Matthiae and Hermann, together with the equally spurious 393-6, which interrupt the story by anticipating the end). *Πυθοὶ* should for the metre's sake be *Πυθῶν'*, *i.e.* *Πυθῶνι*, *cf. Hymn Herm. 178 εἰς Πυθῶνα*, B 519. The same correction is required in l. 405. *Πυθοὶ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ* (θ 81) is, of course, perfectly metrical.

I will remark further that Gemoll's attempt to defend these lines by a 23-4 is not in point. There we have geo-

graphical information which is not, and could not well be, given elsewhere. This is not the case here.

In 391 *ταῦτ' ἄρα ὀρμαίνων* is impossible. Either *ταῦτ' ἄρ' ὁ γ'* or some other simple avoidance of this needless gap is called for. Contrast 201 where *ο* is pure surplusage. Such are the vagaries of the tradition. *Ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐς ὀρμαίνων ἐνόησε* might be suggested, *i.e.* *εἰς ἐνόησε*.

Not unfrequently a question arises between tradition and usage. Here is one in which the meaning is much the same either way :

419 ἀλλὰ παρέκ Πελοπόννησον πείραν ἔχουσα
ἦι' ὁδόν, πνοιῇ δὲ ἀναξ' ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων. . . .

For *ἔχουσα*, which certainly cannot be defended, as Allen and Sikes suppose, by the very different usage of γ 182 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γε Πύλονδ' ἔχον*, I would read *ιοῦσα* (Baumeister's *ἐκούσα* will not scan). An even better instance for my purpose is *ἦι' ὁδόν*, against which I adduce

435 νηὺς ἀνύσειε θέουσα θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.

(Note in passing that *θέουσα* is in favour of *ιοῦσα*.) and

γ 496 ἦνον ὁδόν.

which make it highly probable that the true reading here is Barnes's *ἦνεν ὁδόν*.

Gemoll in his commentary roundly and wrongly condemns *ἦνεν* as a 'very bad' conjecture, 'because in γ 496 the journey is at an end, but here it is not.' This is a good specimen of empty dogmatism. Barnes was often enough in the wrong, but not in this instance. Not only is *ἦνεν* a legitimate imperfect here, but *ἦνον* (γ 496) is probably the same ('sought to finish their journey,' M. and R.).

T. L. AGAR.

SOME NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF APOLLO.

I. As commonly known, the personal names of the Greeks offers to us a nearly inexhaustible, at least not yet by far exhausted, source of information as to the Greek religion. Greek families have in innumerable cases in their name-giving given expression to the intimate

relation in which they stood to some definite cult or deity. In these lines I want to call the attention to two personal names found in the edition of the inscriptions from Priene by Hiller von Gärtringen. In nr. 313 he has collected all the *τόπος*-inscriptions in

alphabetical order, and here we read l. 93: ὁ τόπος Ἀπολλᾶδος τοῦ Γαλέου. The editor seems to hesitate whether to take the name as Ἀπολλᾶς ὁ Γαλέου or as Ἀπολλᾶς ὁ Γαλεός (cp. the Index), but surely the former view is the better, if you consider the form of the other τόπος-inscriptions. This Apollas is consequently the son of Γαλέας (cp. e.g. Κυκνέας derived from κύκνος Ditt. Syll.³, 83, 3, Ταυρέας from ταῦρος sim.) or of Γαλεός. As far as I see, F. Bechtel, in his newly-published, extremely useful book, *Die histor. Personennamen des Griech. bis zur Kaiserzeit* (1917), does not mention the name. This name can only be satisfactorily explained if you refer it to the γαλεοί and the importance of these animals for the art of vaticination that the Greeks of historical times attached to Apollo. In Sicily we have (in Hybla) the family named Γαλεοί or Γαλεῶται (cp. F.H.G. I. 190 and 369, Hesych. s.v. etc.), their Heros Eponymos was Galeotes, the son of Apollo and the 'Hyperborean' Themisto, cp. further the Praxitelean Sauroktonos and the Apollo Boason (I cannot agree with the negative results of Kjellberg in his article in the *Realenc.* VII. 592, the very name of Hybla ἡ Γερεᾶτις or Γελεᾶτις referring to the Γαλεοί, or perhaps to the animals themselves, the γαλεοί). The attribute of Apollo and of Dionysos σμίνθος recurs in the personal name Σμίνθος (ἰνθις, ἰθίνας, ἰθων), known from Thespiai, Megalopolis, Melos, Mytilene (all inscriptions from the sixth to the fourth century B.C.), v. Bechtel, *l. l.*, p. 587. But a Γαλεός (Γαλεάς) from an Ionic city is a novelty. It gives evidence to the fact that the use of γαλεοί in the 'Apollinic' forms of divination extended to the far East of the Greek world.

2. In the same inscription from Priene, nr. 313, l. 597, we read: ὁ τόπος Ποσειδωνίου τοῦ Πραξίου καὶ Ἀναξιλᾶου Γαλέου or (better, cp. H. v. Gärtr.) Ἀναξιλᾶ [τ]οῦ Γαλέου. In the index of the editor you find very often the name Ἀναξίλαος (Ἀναξίλας), but I especially call attention to Ἀναξίλαος Ἀπολλωνίου and Πάπαρος, a son of Ἀναξίλαος. The relation of this Anaxilaos to the cult of Apollo seems probable, if the name Πάπαρος may be

referred to the same cult of Apollo. Πάπαρος is no singular name in Priene: nr. 313, l. 580; *ib. l.* 581, ὁ τόπος Παπάρου τοῦ Ἀναξιλᾶου, *ib.* ὁ τόπος Παπαρίωνος (twice), ὁ τόπος Ποσειδωνίου τοῦ Παπάρου, l. 581 ὁ τ. Παπάρου τοῦ Παπάρου, l. 582a ὁ τ. Παπάρου τοῦ Καλλιμάχου; especially noteworthy in this connexion is l. 90 ὁ τ. Ἀπολλᾶ τοῦ Παπαρ[ου]. Elsewhere the name is, so far as I know, only met with in *Inschr. v. Pergamon*, nr. 569, p. 359, Παπαρίων. Usener, *Kl. Schr.* IV. 183, conjectures that Παπαρίων here might be corrupted from Πασπαρίων, but such an inaccuracy in writing the inscriptions of Priene of course make impossible. But, in fact, the name Πάπαρος may be connected with Πασπάριος, if you only let the etymologising of Usener (deriving it from the Indogermanic root σπαρ, cp. σπαρ, σπαλ) and his light-god out of account. We read in Hesych. s.v. Πασπάριος, ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Παρίους καὶ Περγαμηνούς. The existence of this god in Pergamon is proved by *Inschr. v. Perg.*, nr. 434, where the Πασπαρεῖται are mentioned. On the other hand, Lobeck (*Pathol.* I. 167) was probably right in comparing the word with Πάρος (or far better with the Ionic colony Parion on the Hellespont). This Πασπάριος again Wernicke, in his article on Apollo in the *Realenc.* II. 63, connected with πασπάλη, and he thought this Apollo Pasparios to be a tutelar god for the cereal crop and the flour (cp. the Apollo Smintheus in even the same Asia Minor). Good reasons seem to favour this view of Wernicke, you only have to assume as a starting-point the identity of the roots παρ and παλ (σπαρ and σπαλ, cp. e.g. στέγος and τέγος); the reduplications [σ]πασπάριος and παι-πάλη would be regular (cp. Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gram.*, § 301, 1; to the examples there mentioned you may add παι-φάσσω and Σαι-σάρα, the daughter of Kelbos in Eleusis, according to the appropriate etymology of Kirchner, *Attica et Peloponnesiaca*, diss. Greifsw., 1890, 52). The mountain Πάρπαρος in Argos Plin. *n. h.* IV. 17 and Hesych. s.v.) with its holy games might belong to the same root (Usener *l. l.* 192), but the reduplication Πα-παρ-ος then re-

mains a difficult one, unless you think of 'dissimilatorischer Schwung' as the late *ὕδραργυρον* = *ὕδράργυρον*, or if you do not recur to the reduplication of the onomatopoeitica *βα-βάζα*, *πα-φλάζω* sim.

At any case, in the face of a—probably Apollinic—*Πάπαρος* in Priene and

Pergamon and of an Apollo *Πασπαριος* in Parion and Pergamon, we incline to take the two words as referring to the same cognomen of Apollo in Asia Minor, whether this cognomen be originally Greek or not.

S. EITREM.

Kristiania.

ON THE NEW FRAGMENTS OF GREEK POETRY RECENTLY PUBLISHED AT BERLIN.

SOME exceedingly interesting fragments of Greek poetry have been published lately by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in the *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie*, 1918, p. 736 ff. Among them occur new fragments of an elegiac poem by Tyrtaeus, shown by the writing to be of the third century B.C., dealing with a war against the Gauls, and therefore a contemporary document bearing upon their invasion of Greece or Asia Minor; some fragments of pseud-Epicharmea, like those published by Grenfell and Hunt from the Hibeh Papyri, and those in the *Berlin. Klass. Texte* V.; a glossary with poetical quotations; and fragments of a Paean and of two other poems supplied with a vocal score, and separated by short pieces of music simply with the instrumental score: the date of this unique musical papyrus is the second century A.D.

I offer a few suggestions upon two of these.

1. The Hamburg Papyrus, the date of which is the middle of the third century B.C., containing seventeen incomplete lines of a Hellenistic elegiac poem, is provokingly mutilated. We have the account of an envoy delivering his report to a king. Danger is threatened by *θεῶρος ἀνὴρ Γαλάτης*, whose hardy life is contrasted with that of the Medes: they do not live softly: v. 17, *ἀλλὰ χάμεινα Διὸς τε καὶ αἰθριάα[ι] ἐν[ι]*. We may accept Wilamowitz' restoration of the first part of the line, but not his *ἐν[αυτόν]*: what is required is some form of *ἐνιαῦεν*: *αἰθριᾶν* here appears to be used in the sense of *αἰθριοκοιτεῖν*. Lines 11 and 12 run:

'We have enslaved braver men before, and these shall pay *ταύτης μισθὸν ἀπασθαλῆς* (11, 12), [*.*] *ὑβρίζται τε καὶ ἄφρονες*' (v. 9): the gap is plainly to be filled by *ἄνδρες*.

We have clearly here a contemporary document treating of the invasion of the Gauls into Greece and Asia Minor, of which we get echoes in Callimachus IV. 175 ff. and the Delphic Hymns to Apollo; or of something arising out of it.

We can only guess who the king was, but we know that Attalus I. took the title of king from his victory over the Gauls, and we might provisionally suggest Musaeus of Ephesus as the author of the poem, since Suidas states that he wrote poems in praise of Eumenes and Attalus: *ἔγραψε Περσηίδος βιβλία ἑ' καὶ (<ὑμνους> Wachsmuth) εἰς Εὐμένη καὶ Ἀτταλον*. There is no need to place Musaeus, as Susamihl does, in the time of Attalus II. Wilamowitz however thinks that the pressure of danger points to the king being a Seleucid. Yet a reference to the plot of Ptolemy Philadelphus' Gallic mercenaries (Paus. I. 7, 2) is not excluded.

2. Upon an *ostrakon* in writing of the third century B.C. are explanations of unusual words, with quotations from an unknown writer, from Homer, Antimachus, and Hipponax. I extract the words with which we are here concerned, ll. 4-8:

*σφουσασχοινία ομηρου κειτοδουπαιθουσ[
νεοσαμφιελισσησ βυβλινον ωιτε πεδησε
θυρασ[
λυθεν αυτοσ αντιμαχου ενδιστον θηκεν
λαίφεσι δε*

λινεοισι σουσα ετιθει παντοια θεα ποδας
 ηδε καλωας
 ενδυπερασστρεπτας οπλατε παντα νεωσ

That is:

σοῦσα, σχοινία · Ὀμήρου ·
 κέϊτο δ' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ] νεὸς ἀμφιελίσ-
 σης
 βύβλινον, ᾧ τε πέδησε θύρας [] λυθεν
 αὐτός.
 Ἀντιμάχου ·
 ἐν δ' ἴστον θήκεν, λαίφεσι δὲ λινέοις
 σοῦσ' ἐτίθει παντοῦα θεά, πόδας ἡδὲ
 κάλωας
 ἐν δ' ὑπέρας στρεπτάς ὄπλα τε πάντα
 νεώς.

The lines from Homer are *Odyssey* φ 390, 391, where our texts have ὄπλον in the first line, and ἐς δ' ἦεν in the second; the *ostrakon* obviously had ἐς δ' ἤλυθεν. In the first line Wilamowitz would restore the new word σοῦσον, and suggests σοῦσφ εὔστρεφεῖ in ξ 346, where our texts have

ἐνθ' ἐμέ μὲν κατέδησαν εὔστέλμω ἐνὶ νηὶ
 ὀπλφ εὔστρεφεῖ.

The question of altering these two passages I leave to Mr. Allen and Mr. Agar; I am more concerned with this strange word σοῦσον. It will be found in the *Lexicon* with the meaning 'lily,' and is called by Fick a Semitic word. But I am inclined to think that there is a mistake in the *ostrakon*. In the first place it is incredible that any member of the Liliaceae could be used for the purpose of making a rope; they are too brittle in all their parts. But

that a rare word was being explained and illustrated by the person who wrote on the *ostrakon* is certain. I strongly suspect that the word should be οὔσον, and that it appeared in the text of Homer from which the writer quoted, and in his text of Antimachus. Hesychius has the gloss οὔσα · σχοινία, νεὼς ὄπλα, and the word occurs in literature in the fragment of Alexander Aetolus preserved in Parthenius, *Erot.* XIV. 21:

γαῦλός μοι χρύσεος . . .
 νῦν ὄγ' ἀνελκόμενος, διὰ μὲν κάλον
 ἤρικεν οὔσον.

Οὔσον is certain there, although the reading of the rest of the line is not; in the last half I take Lord Harberton's suggestion of κάλον (= κάλων) for MS. κακόν, translating it with him 'the withy handle frayed through the rope.'

In lines 2 and 3 of the *ostrakon* another poetical quotation occurs,

[ιτερα ηιωρουντο.[
 ενεσεισατορ δε σφιν δε[. . .].α.[

the name of the author being lost. Wilamowitz gives *περὰ ἡωρουντο*; and it is a curious thing that in a fragment apparently of Antimachus of Colophon, published by Wilamowitz in *Berlin. klass. Texte* III. 27, *περὰ* appears to be used with a plural verb: *περὰ προσπεφύασι* is his restoration. There is then a possibility that this quotation on the *ostrakon* is also from Antimachus.

J. U. POWELL.

IN PROPERTIUM RETRACTATIONES SELECTAE.

(SEE *Class. Rev.*, 1916, p. 39; 1917, p. 87.)

I. iii. 8:

talis uisa mihi mollem spirare quietem
 Cynthia non certis nixa caput manibus.

What are *non certae manus*? *Certa manus* is familiar enough in the sense of 'a good shot.' When Ovid speaks of drinking and dicing,

nec iuuat in lucem nimio marcescere uino,
 nec tenet incertae alea blanda manus
 (*Ex Ponto* I. v. 46),

the gambler's hands are *incertae* because he is *marcidus*. I see in the context no

implication that Cynthia's slumbers are drunken; the images (Ariadne, Andromeda, or Maenad) merely describe the deep sleep of utter fatigue. Perhaps the poet wrote

consertis nixa caput manibus.

In the literal sense ('to clasp hands') this phrase is very much less common than in the metaphorical (= *pugnā conserere*), but it is sufficiently attested. As for the plastic type, most of the examples catalogued by Reinach ('Ré-

pertoire, s.v. Ariane, Ménade,' etc.) show the sleeping woman with one hand beneath her head and the other extended by her side (so Philost. *Imag.* I. 14) or drooping. But since in this case Cynthia's head is resting on her *hands*, does not the plural suggest that they cannot be otherwise than *consertae*?

Ib. 19, 20:

sed sic intentis haerebam fixus ocellis
Argus ut ignotis cornibus Inachidos.

'I hesitated, stuck, with gazing eyes, as Argus . . .' To describe a man staring in amazement Ovid (*Epist.* VI. 26) has:

haesit in opposita lumina fixus humo

Virgil:

Turnus ad haec oculos horrenda in uirgine fixus.

Fixus (which, for some unknown reason, Lewis and Short call 'very rare in the literal sense) is used for 'stuck, rooted, riveted,' of the whole person:

talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat
(*Aen.* II. 650).

In our passage *intentis ocellis* is adverbial to *haerebam* rather than to *fixus*. Now the simile of Argus is in point only if it is Propertius who is *intentis ocellis*; and the horns (*ignotis cornibus*) no less evidently belong to Io. The question is: could even Propertius, who notoriously makes the ablative a maid-of-all-work, contrast (within a couplet) a pair of ablatives in such widely disparate senses? 'haerebam intentis ocellis ut Argus (haesit) ignotis cornibus.' *Credat Hertzbergius* that any Augustan wrote such unsymmetrical perversity.

We want something to express that it was *when confronted with, at the appearance of* the horns, that Argus was fascinated. *In* with the ablative expresses this, and the alteration of a single letter gives us:

Argus ut *in gnatis* cornibus Inachidos

for the use of *nascor* cf.

quam cuperem fronti cornua nata tuae (Ov. *Ar.* I. 308)

and for the rest,

nec minus inter

ille tot ignoti socios gregis haeret in una
defixus (Val. *Fl.* V. 376).

Apropos of Io's horns let me digress for a moment to

Virg. *Aen.* VII. 789:

at leuem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io
auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos.

Sublatis cornibus means 'with uplifted horns,' 'tossing the head': a grotesque beginning for the process of transformation. Of *iam bos* it makes a bathos: *iam* is absurd after *sublatis cornibus*. Virgil is here amusing himself with one of those virtuosities of ecphrasis when it is pretended that plastic art has the successiveness which belongs only to language. In these verbal 'films' not merely an exact moment of time is described, but transition. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* abound in examples.

I hope it will not be thought irreverent or blasphemous if, rather than suppose the poet capable of *sublatis*, I venture to hint that here a copyist has for a moment eluded the particular providence which has safeguarded the text of Virgil from such errors as have crept into the text of, say, Milton or Dickens, and gone wrong by just one stroke. Read not *SUBLATIS* but *SUBNATIS CORNIBVS*. 'Io, relieved against the field of polished metal, showed horns just budding—and now she had a coat of hair—and now she was bovine.' That is: the eye is imagined to follow the phases of metamorphosis till it is consummated—*iam bos*.

I. vii. 16:

te quoque si certo puer hic concusserit arcu
quoniam nolim nostros euigilasse deo.

So I suggest that these lines be read. The pentameter is admittedly corrupt. The palaeographical cheapness of the conjecture will not be denied: *quoniam* for *quod*, *euigilasse* for *euilasse*, *deo* for *deos*—these are the changes asked; and *ex hypothesi* the corruption *deos* was inevitably consequent on the other corruptions.

By these words is to be understood: 'Let once the boy to whose divine vigils I would be sorry to see my friends devoted, strike you with his unerring marksmanship, and—farewell to your epics!'

From the proposed pentameter *hic puer* gains definition, which it greatly needs: for as Amor has not been named in the poem, the vagueness of the words is strange and offensive. Also the awk-

ward unbalance between protasis and apodosis is righted by bringing the pentameter into the construction, instead of leaving it as an exclamatory interruption.

Euigilare 'to watch through' is in Tibullus I. viii. 24. Propertius offers a near parallel in I. ix. 28:

quippe ubi nec liceat uacuos seducere ocellos
nec uigilare alio numine, cedat Amor?

(Brouckhuyzen's punctuation.) MSS. *nomine*, but the correction seems to be imposed by Silius XI. 409:

aut nostro uigiles ducat sub numine noctes

(Venus is speaking.)

Euigilare = *peruigilare* = *παραυγίλειν*. The dative *cui* (*quos*) . . . *deo* is like *παραυγίλοισιν θεῷ* in Aristoph. *Ran.* 445.

The perfect infinitive is not, as often in Ovid, to be accounted for *metri gratia*, but by the *nolim*: for the idiom of *nolim* and *uelim* with this tense there are multitudes of examples ranging from archaic texts, like the Consular Letter regarding the S.-C. *de Bacchanalibus* (Ernout, *Recueil*, p. 63); decrees *ap. Aul. Gell.* X. 3, XIII. 13; Cato, *R.R.* V.; Ter. *Hec.* 563; Lucr. III. 68 to Hor. *Sat.* I. ii. 28, II. iii. 187; Ov. *Am.* I. iv. 38; Sil. Ital. XIII. 318.

I. viii. 13-16. I suggest that this vexed quatrain should read:

ergo ego nunc uideam tali sub sidere uela
cum tibi propectas auferet unda ratis,
et me defixum uacua patietur in ora
crudelem infesta saepe uocare manu?
sed quocumque modo κ.τ.λ.

In 13 I substitute *ergo* for *atque* (aut &) on the supposition that *ergo* has fallen out by haplography and the gap has been stopped with *atque*. Heinsius similarly supplies a missing *ego* in II. viii. 13:

ergo ego iam multos nimium temerarius annos

(For this *ergo* of desperate resignation cf. III. xxi. 17.)

ergo ego nunc rudis Hadriaci uehar aequoris
hospes?)

nunc for the *non* of the MSS. is as old as Bapt. Pius.

For *uentos* I read *uela*. 'So I must needs behold this unseasonable sailing, at the hour when your ship shall have reached the harbour-mouth, and the waters bear it away, bear *you* away,

and leave *me* rooted on the empty beach, shaking my fist and crying "Cruel!"'

Videre uela is Propertian:

at tu, saeue Aquilo, nunquam mea uela uidebis
(III. vii. 71),

and Ovidian:

ut te non poteram, poteram tua uela uidere
(*Epist.* XIII. 19)

ut qui Theseae fallacia uela carinae
uidit (*Ibis* 492).

To take *sub sidere* as preposition and noun was Heinsius' view, anticipated by the correctors' hands in F and V (*sub sydere*). Of the five examples that I find in Latin poetry, three give a geographical determination:

sub sidere Cancrī (Virg. *Ecl.* X. 68)

alio *sub sidere* (Lucan II. 294)

nostro *sub sidere* (Juvenal XII. 13)

and two an astrological:

sub sidere tali (Manilius V. 46 and 231).

I admit that the direct Virgilian prototype of our verse has no *sub*:

quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem?
(*Aen.* IV. 309),

but it will hardly be objected that *sub sidere* cannot bear the sense of 'season and weather' which *sidere* bears in Dido's line and in the first verse of the *Georgics*. Dido's line seems to give the key for vv. 9-16 of our poem: it is heartless of C. to go off to Illyria at all; particularly heartless to go regardless of weather, *uento quolibet* (4) and now *tali sub sidere*:

Encor si la saison s'avançait davantage!
Attendez les zéphyrus.

I. ix. 23-4:

nullus Amor cuiquam facilis ita praebuit alas
ut non alterna presserit ille manu.

Certainly Ovid's *leuitas sua praebuit alas* (*Met.* XIII. 606) means 'lightness lent wings'; but it does not follow that Love lends a man wings here. Dr. Postgate's and Mr. Butler's explanations seem to depend on this. Rothstein's general view of the passage seems to me more probable: 'never did Love offer his wings readily to any man (to catch him by) without his presently turning on him and crushing him:' although his note goes off into a mist of delusions and confusions. This view of *praebuit alas* is vindicated by such parallels from Propertius as:

flammae pectora praebent (III. xiii. 21)

cum uix tangendos praebuit illa pedes
(IV. viii. 72)

et caput argutae praebent historiae (III. xx. 28)

ah nimium faciles aurem praebere puellae
(II. xxi. 15)

which may be abundantly reinforced from the Ovid index with *aurem, aures, brachia, capillos, colla, manum, manus*, etc., *praebere*: all in the sense of yielding or offering passively.

Suppose then an ordinary Cupido *ales* allowing his wings to be stroked like a tame bird: *faciles* means 'un-resisting, at your disposal, and answers to the gerundives in *praebuit tangendos pedes, pectendos capillos*, etc. Just as you think you have him quite tame as a pet, the other side of the creature comes out. In what action? Does *alterna manu* simply mean *uicissim*, as editors since Hertzberg have generally held? In that case the whole contrast must be conveyed in *presserit*. But *premere* is an exceedingly vague word, unless the context determine it.

In the couplet which Rothstein adduces (III. xxi. 5)

omnia sunt temptata mihi quacunque fugari
possit; at ex omni me premit iste deus,

the strategic metaphor in *fugari* gives strategic colour to *premit*. Here there is nothing to determine *presserit*.

It is necessary then to examine the words *alterna manu*.

In Prop. I. xi. 2 '*alternae facilis cedere lymphæ manu*' refers to swimming; Ovid has likewise '*alternaque brachia ducens*,' of a swimmer (imitated by Manil. V. 424); in Statius *Theb.* VI. 860 '*et iam alterna manus frontemque umerosque . . . lacessit*' describes boxing; in *Theb.* IX. 62 '*alternaeque manus = rixa*.'

Nonnus affects ἀμοιβαῖος in similar phrases:

Ἀντονίην πλῆγῃσιν ἀμοιβαῖσιν ἰμάσσῳ (boxing)

(XLIV. 138)

ποσσὶν ἀμοιβαίοισιν ὀπίσῳ ὤθειν ὕδαρ (swimming)

(VII. 189)

ποσσὶν ἀμοιβαίοισιν ἀνεσκήρτησεν ἀλωεύς (dancing)

(XLVII. 64)

Alterna manu can mean *uicissim*, as in Ov. *Fasti* II. 234:

uolneraque alterna dantque feruntque manu,

though it has been shown above that such is not its most usual meaning.

Why make more ado about it? Because the vagueness of *presserit* is not the only difficulty. *Restat scrupulus*: is not *ille* in the pentameter just to indicate that the subject of the second verb is not *amor* but the other party? Unless *ille* means the mortal, the *cuiquam* of the preceding verse, is not the expression gratuitously misleading?

But if *ille* is the victim, *presserit* is not merely vague but nonsensical—and corrupt.

If we choose the most obviously appropriate amongst the senses of *alterna manu* above detailed, viz. boxing, the man who takes punishment in boxing may be said *sentire alternam manum* (or *alternas manus*):

tuas sentiat illa manus (II. x. 18)

Reading '*ut non alternam senserit ille manum*' the postulated error amounts to 'fēserit' misread as 'pſserit,' which is not enormous in a mediocre tradition such as we are dealing with.

The idea then is this: you think him a cherub, but you find you have caught a bruiser.

Children as boxers are shown in Reinach's *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, Vol. I., p. 541; but I cannot produce a palpable Eros pyktes.

I. xi. 6:

ecquis in extremo restat amore locus?

Mirum profecto loquendi genus, as Lachmann remarked. His uneasy note, which is in great part concerned with refuting Passerat's conjecture *externo*, makes interesting reading. He points out that Propertius uses *extremus* for *minimus*:

Haec sed forma mei pars est extrema furoris
(I. iv. 11)

and adduces Stat. *Silv.* I. ii. 100 (where most editors read *hesterna*), and Nemesianus *Cyneg.* 231. So far good; but he proceeds to pronounce that the MSS. reading must be retained and rendered *ecqua mihi parua amoris tui pars residua est*? The difficulty has not been faced. Is it Propertius' Latin—in *extremo amore* for *in extrema parte amoris tui*?

I cannot discover that any commentator cites the phrase from Terence which is most nearly germane to our passage:

*certe extrema linea
amare haud nil est*
(*Eun.* 640)

(Donatus *ad loc.* nicely distinguishes the *quinque lineae amoris*.)
which is illustrated by Thraso's appeal:

perficere hoc
precibus pretio ut haeream in parte aliqua
tandem apud Thaidem (*Eun.* 1055).

Here we have the idea of marked grades in love: it seems to have become proverbial, for Lact. Plac. has:

puellam *extrema amoris linea* diligens satis animo solo faciebat aspectu (*ad. Stat. Theb.* 3. 283).

The ἀρα μένει στοργῆς ἐμὲ λείψανα; motif of Meleager (*A.P.* V. 165) takes on a spatial metaphor which is not uncommon in Latin (Greek offers such instances as Plato *Legg.* VII. 823 ὁ μὴδ' εἰς τὸν ἑσχατον ἐπέλθοι νοῦν ἄψασθαι). *Locus* and *pars* are exchanged, as *e.g.* in the following:

quod siquis inter hos *locus* mihi restat
(*Priap.* XXXVI. 10)
pars in amore meo uita tibi remanet
(*Apul. de Mag.* IX.)

and Lucan:

ullusne in cladibus istis
est *locus* Aegypto? (*VIII.* 545.)

What remains unvindicated is in *extremo amore*: nothing is alleged which can persuade me that *extremus amor* can mean anything but a last love. Surely the governing phrase in Terence and all other indications point to this:

ecquid in extremo restat amare loco?

i.e., *extrema linea amare*. This means both the furthest out-of-the-way and the least dignified station.

Thus in early days, when protocol was all at sixes and sevens, before the powers of Precedence and Deference had arranged for proper ceremonies in heaven,

Tethys *extremo* saepe recepta loco est
(*Ov. Fast.* V. 22).

I add an instance from St. Augustine:

si ergo aliquis magnus procurator offendant et poena domini sui (uerbi gratia) fiat ostiarius in aliquo *extremo loco* . . . (*Enarr. in Ps.* CIII., p. 1674, edit. Bened.).

Once *amare* became *amore*, *loco* was bound to become *locus*, and *ecquid* be changed to *ecquis*. Read so, *extremo loco* here answers to *pars extrema* in I. iv. 11.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

University of Glasgow.

A METRICAL PECULIARITY OF THE CULEX.

THE chief glory of the Latin hexameter, as brought to perfection by Virgil, lies in the constant subtle variation of the last two feet, in close connexion with the fourth. Only now and then, and almost always with special intention, does the poet introduce what may be called a startling, or seemingly awkward, variety of these last two feet, such as 'procumbit humi bos,' or 'simul hoc animo hauri' (*Aen.* XII. 26), and other lines of which the Poet Laureate has recently reminded us. But there is one peculiar line-ending which is almost entirely absent from Virgil's most finished work; I mean that where, with or without a pause or full stop at the end of the fourth foot, the first syllable of the fifth is a monosyllable, and sometimes a weak one: *e.g.* 'Si nescis, meus ille caper fuit: et mihi Damon' (*Ecl.* III. 23). This monosyllable is usually either an 'et,' or

'nam,' or an interrogative pronoun, which gives the line a certain awkwardness, depriving it of the majesty which we have come to expect in the hexameter. In Lucretius, who as a rule was more anxious about his matter than his metre, this ending is extremely common: there are few pages of his poem in which it is not to be found.

I happened lately to notice that there are a good many lines in the *Culex* with this ending: in fact I found that my ear had always associated it with the *Culex*, chiefly on account of the lines 37-39, which have a special interest for me:

haec tibi, sancte puer, memorabimus, haec tibi
restet
gloria perpetuum lucens mansura per aevum.
et tibi sede pia maneat locus, et tibi sospes. . .

Out of curiosity I went through the poem, counting the lines of this kind, and found about twenty out of 414. Then I went on to the *Ciris*, where, as

I expected, the result was quite different: I could only find three examples (or four including a corrupt line) in all the 541 lines.¹

I then went on to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*; but before I say anything of the real and undoubted Virgil, I will quote some of the most notable lines in the *Culex* which show the peculiarity I am speaking of:

mente prius docta fastidiat, et probet illi (59).
ima susurrantis repetebant ad vada lymphæ (105).

Attalici opibus data vellera, si nitor auri (63).
ereptus taetris ex cladibus; at mea manes (214).
sed tu crudelis, crudelis tu magis Orpheu (292).

When we find this line again in Virgil, it has become 'crudelis tu quoque mater' and is repeated in line 51 (of *Ecl.* VIII.); this is an immense improvement, if my ear does not deceive me. In 349 ff. we have—

omnia turbinibus sunt anxia. iam maris unda
sideribus certat consurgere, iamque superne
corripere et solis et sidera cuncta minatur
ac ruere in terras caeli fragor. hic modo laetans. . . .

At the end of the poem we find a number of examples: lines 386, 391, and 398, which ends with 'hic et acanthos,' followed in 402 by 'hic rododaphne,' and in 406 by 'hic amarantus.' About the reading of these passages there is practically no doubt, I believe.

After this examination, I felt fairly well satisfied that the author of the *Culex*, unlike the author of the *Ciris*, must have had his head full of Lucretius: that in spite of the almost Virgilian 'care and finish' in some passages, which Mr. Mackail has emphasised in *Classical Review*, 1908, p. 72, the poet was by no means perfect master of the hexameter: and thirdly, that if, as I myself believe on other grounds, that poet was the very youthful Virgil, the influence of Lucretian versification only bears out the evidence of other Lucretian influence, which has often been noticed, e.g. by Skutsch, *op. cit.* p. 127 note, and 129: and Miss Jackson in *Classical Quarterly*, 1911, p. 167. But I will now go on to give the results of an

examination of Virgil's maturer work in respect of this same metrical feature.

In the *Eclogues*, which together contain about double the number of the lines in the *Culex*, there are just the same number of examples of our line-ending; and none of them are so bald or weak as a few of those in the earlier poem, unless it be the 'Linus' line in IV. 56, 'nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit.' In *Ecl.* IX. there are an unusual number, six in all; but if these be examined (lines 17, 33, 51, 53, 59, 60), it will be seen that they all come in smoothly and naturally, without offending the ear. In *Ecl.* X. there is only one, where the word 'nam' is repeated with some effect: 'Nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi Ulla moram fecere,' as the word *ñ* is repeated in the original (Theocr. I. 66).

Thus the evidence of the *Eclogues* seems to prove that the author was more experienced and skilful than the author of the *Culex*, and less under the influence of Lucretius. This is exactly what we should expect, if the poet of the *Culex* was really the young Virgil. The evidence of the *Georgics* shows again a clear advance. There are more than 2,000 lines in the four *Georgics*, and only about twenty examples of our line-ending (i.e., one per cent.), none of which would be likely to trouble a fastidious reader.² In II. 486 the poet has found out how to make a beautiful effect with this usually most ineffective ending: let me quote the whole lovely passage:

sin has ne possim naturae accedere partes
frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis,
rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,
flumina amem silvasque inglorius. *O ubi campi*
Spercheusque. . . .

Another beautiful instance is IV. 498, not quite the first example I have met with as yet of its enchanting rhythm:

feror ingenti circumdata nocte
invalidasque tibi tendens, heu non tua, palmas.
(cf. II. 82.)

The almost perfect versification of the *Georgics*, which first in Latin poetry

¹ Skutsch does not refer to this ending, but only to the spondaic one, in his *Virgil's Frühzeit*, I. p. 74. In the highly finished *Moretum* there is no example of this line-ending.

² *Geo.* I. 29, 150, 380; II. 308, 321, 447, 486; III. 8, 35, 176, 260, 416, 496, 499; IV. 84 (a noticeable instance), 418, 498.

showed how the last two feet of the hexameter are the supreme test of a poet's power to express his feeling by his rhythm, has absorbed into its ever varying structure what has so often been an almost ugly ending, and compelled it here and there to put on a peculiar beauty of its own.

It was hardly necessary to carry the enquiry further, but out of curiosity I looked through most of the books of the *Aeneid*. In the first six books there are about 4,700 lines, and only about 22 of them show our ending—i.e., about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The only remarkable ones are II. 530, where the use is obvious and effective:

illum ardens infesto vulnere Pyrrhus
insequitur, iam iamque manu tenet et premit
hasta,¹

and IV. 336 'dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.' In the sixth book (123) we have 'ab Iove summo' (cp. *Geo.* III. 35), and one or two others in the first half of the book, e.g. 277, 'tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis Gaudia,' where I do not suppose that anyone will quarrel with the stress on 'et,' so different from similar stressed *et*'s in the *Culex*. In the last half of book VI., unsurpassed in Latin poetry, I have not found a single example.

In the last three books the versification is less smooth and finished than in the first six: this is particularly so in the tenth book, as the late Mr. F. W. H.

Myers noticed.² Now in this book I have counted no less than seventeen examples of our ending: fair evidence that the book was left in need of revision. On the other hand, in the first 200 lines of book XI., which are some of the most beautiful and finished in the whole poem, I can only find one example, and that a very harmless one. So too in the last two hundred lines of book XII. On the whole we may infer that it was the deliberate aim of Virgil in careful revision to eliminate as far as possible all commonplace or meaningless examples of this line-ending, using it only when it could produce an effect either striking or beautiful, as the sense required. But where we have his unfinished work, they are sometimes little more than tibiae, or stop-gaps, which, as Mr. Myers says, 'suggest a grotesque resemblance to the style of the fourth-form boy.'

The *Culex* was never revised, but only made use of in later days for thoughts and pictures which could be clothed in really beautiful language by a more mature artist. We may perhaps see in it, better than in any part of the later poems, the raw material with which the great master of the hexameter began all his work. Such at least is my view of it: and I hope that this little investigation of a small point in its structure may be convincing to others also.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

¹ Cf. XII. 355 ff.

² *Classical Essays*, p. 138.

THE 'PROSPECTIVE.'

SOME recent discussions¹ of 'prospective' subjunctives in Latin, and those of earlier date as well, seem to involve certain misconceptions.

In the first place, these discussions ostensibly deal with a modal meaning; but really the notion conveyed by Mr. Sonnenschein's term 'prospective' is a temporal one, that of futurity; indeed,

in his first article on the 'prospective' he speaks of this subjunctive as a 'future-equivalent.' Of Mr. Hale's term 'anticipatory' the same thing should be said. More frank is the term 'futural' used by Kroll and others. Now these so-called 'prospective' subjunctives are not equivalent to future indicatives; they all possess a definite modal meaning; and for their proper understanding a correct conception of the relation between temporal and modal ideas in modal expressions is necessary.

¹ Sonnenschein, *C.R.* XXXII., p. 20; *The Year's Work* for 1917, pp. 36 ff.; Goodrich, *C.R.* XXXI. pp. 83 ff.; Pearson, *C.Q.* XI. pp. 66 f.

If the study of modal syntax had started with the periphrastic modes of English or of some other language, more than one misconception might have been avoided. Consider English modal expressions with the auxiliaries. In 'I can go' the assertion is directly made concerning the notion of 'can,' that is to say ability is asserted. Of the idea of going nothing is directly asserted.¹ A temporal meaning is, of course, expressed, but it is 'can,' the modal idea, that is placed in present time. Of the time of 'go' nothing is said. From the nature of the case, however, its time can not be before the time of 'can.' By implication, and implication only, the time of 'go' is a non-past. Only factors of context can make its time more definitely present or future.

If the expression is put into the past, 'I could (was able to) go,' it is the ability again that is placed in the past time sphere; and the time of 'go' is left indefinite, as in the case of 'I can go.'

What has been said may be applied to our 'compulsive'² expression or expression of 'external determination,'³ as I prefer to call it. In 'I am to go,' 'I was to go,' the temporal meanings belong to 'am' and 'was.' In neither case is the time of 'go' expressed.

The dictum that the temporal meaning of a modal expression is the time of the modal idea, not that of the verbal idea, should be applied to the modal forms of Latin,⁴ and of other languages

as well. A volitive subjunctive, as *faciamus*, expresses the will of the speaker in regard to a contemplated action. It places in the present time sphere not that contemplated action but the idea of willing. The time of doing is no more expressed than it is in *volo facere*. But in a clause of motive, since the act of the clause can not take place until the act of the antecedent clause has taken place, a future implication exists. In a sense consistent with this fact the subjunctive in a motive clause is 'prospective.'

Now the modal meaning of a large number of independent subjunctives and of the majority of subjunctives in subordinate clauses is not volitive or optative; it is 'compulsive,' 'of external determination.' Whether in independent sentences or in subordinate clauses the time expressed is that belonging to the modal idea. In *Trin.* 496 'ubi mortuos sis, ita sis' (the time of being dead) is left entirely indefinite. In subjunctive questions as 'Quid faciam?' (What am I to do?) there may be a somewhat more definite 'prospective' implication.

In subordinate clauses there are opportunities for a contextual implication of futurity. In the *priusquam* and *antequam* and *dum* clauses the conjunctions themselves tend to place the act or situation in the future in relation to the act of the main clause. The subjunctive does not place the act in the future; it expresses a modal idea. The 'priusquam conetur' of *Cic. De Or.* 2. 44. 186, means 'before he is to attempt.' The present time indicated by the tense of the verb has reference to the modal idea just as in the equivalent English expression the time expressed is the time of 'is.' So in 'priusquam manus consererent' of *Tusc.* 4. 22. 49, the past time expressed is the time of the modal idea, 'was.' In both cases there is a 'prospective' implication for the act of the clause.⁵ 'Delitti dum vela darent'

¹ This, by the way, is the background of truth in the conception of the subjunctive as the mode of the act conceived, of pure thought, etc. In any modal expression the act itself, since its existence is not asserted, is in a sense merely thought of.

² See Sweet, *New English Grammar*, § 2297.

³ The term 'determined futurity' which I employed in two articles in *Classical Weekly* (X. pp. 178-181 and 185-188 and XI. pp. 161-164 and 169-172) is objectionable because it implies that the subjunctive expresses futurity. With the English 'compulsive' cf. the use of *est* and infinitive in Augustine *Civ. D.* 7. 3 'nam seminibus nasci in terra et ex terra est' and the use of *habeo* and infinitive, the forerunner of the Romance future and conditional. See Draeger, *Hist. Syn.* 2, § 414.

⁴ It has an important bearing on several important problems in Latin modal syntax, for example, the problem of the difference in meaning between prohibitions with the present sub-

junctive and those with the perfect and the problem of the sequence of tenses.

⁵ When we assign to the subjunctive of the *priusquam* and *antequam* clauses the meaning of external determination, the difficulty met with in such examples as the following vanishes. *Liv.* 5. 33. 5, 'ducentis quippe annis antequam Clusium oppugnarent in Italian transcenderunt,

of Virg. *Aen.* 2. 136, means 'I lay in hiding under the circumstances that (= till) they were bound to be sailing.' The past time of 'they were bound' is expressed by the imperfect tense. That the act of sailing lies in the future is a necessary implication of the context.

The same subjunctive appears in the so-called clauses of 'actual' result;¹ but the 'prospective' implication appears in but few cases. In Cic. *Am.* 9. 29, 'tanta vis probitatis est, ut eam etiam in hosti diligamus,' the time of loving is altogether indefinite, now or in the future. But in *Rud.* 730 'ita ego te hinc ornatum amittam tu ipse te ut non noveris,' the 'prospective' implication is clear. In both cases the time expressed (present) is that of the modal idea.

Nor in relative clauses is there such a thing as a 'prospective' subjunctive. In relative clauses Latin frequently chooses to speak of an act as (because of circumstances) bound to happen, rather than as happening; using, therefore, the subjunctive of external deter-

mination. In *Tusc.* 1. 18 'sunt qui censeant' Cicero says, 'there are those who are (bound) to be holding the opinion.' The time of the modal idea is present and is expressed by the tense of the verb. Nothing in the context places the time of *censeant* in the future. But when Horace, *Od.* 1. 32 says 'si quid . . . lusimus tecum, quod et hunc in annum vivat et plures,' the phrase 'hunc in annum et plures' gives a 'prospective' implication. There is no shift in the nature of the subjunctive. So in Liv. 21. 42. 2 'se quisque eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret,' the meaning of *optabat* serves to place the act of *legeret* in the future; but the time of the modal idea is, as it should be, past, the time indicated by the imperfect tense. The subjunctive in the so-called relative clauses of purpose has as good right as any to be called 'prospective'—Caes. *B.G.* 2. 17 'exploratores mittit qui locum idoneum castris deligant,' 'who are to select.' The 'prospective' implication is given in the same way as it is in the true purpose clause.

In *cum* subjunctive clauses we have the same situation. There, too, the Roman often preferred to speak of the act as bound to happen rather than as happening; and sometimes the context will indicate that the act or situation of the clause lies in the future relative to the time indicated by the tense of the subjunctive. So, for example, in Virg. *Aen.* 7. 427.

What has been said may easily be applied to Greek subjunctives and optatives. They, too, are strictly modal in meaning; but we should expect to find that occasionally the context places the contemplated act in the future. The optatives discussed by Mr. Pearson are 'prospective' only in this sense.

FRANK H. FOWLER.

Clearly the act of *oppugnarent* was not expected or anticipated or in prospect; but it was to be. See Hale, *Anticipatory*, p. 86 f.

¹ The real character of the subjunctive in these clauses has been quite clearly stated by Mr. Sonnenschein, *Unity*, pp. 36 ff.; but what he sees as the fundamental and unifying meaning of the Latin subjunctive—'obligation'—is nothing but the essential character of modal ideas in general. It belongs to the Greek optative and to the English periphrastic modal expressions. The meaning of external determination is as distinct from the volitive meaning as either is from that of capacity, meaning of English 'can.' To place volitive and compulsive subjunctives under one head, as Mr. Sonnenschein does, is to neglect the most important distinction in Latin modal syntax. The failure to make this sharp distinction keeps him from seeing that in a purpose clause we have to do with a clause of *willed* result, while in a 'result' clause we have to do with an *externally determined* result.

NOTES

EPIMENIDES AND
'MAXANIDUS.'

IN Vol. XXX. pp. 33 ff. and pp. 139 ff. of this *Review*, there are articles by Mr. Nicklin and Mr. Powell dealing with the discovery by Dr. Rendel Harris¹ in the Syriac commentary on the Acts of Isho'dad of Merv of a passage cited from 'Minos son of Zeus,' in which occurs not only the line *Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θήρια, γαστέρες ἀργαί* (Tit. i. 12), but also the words 'in thee we live and move and have our being' (Acts xvii. 18),² and the further discovery by the same scholar that in his commentary on Titus the author states that the line *Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται κ.τ.λ.* is the work of a Cretan poet or prophet variously called MKSNNYDWS and Minos.³ In these articles Mr. Nicklin agrees with Dr. Harris in taking MKSNNYDWS to be a corruption of *Ἐπιμενίδης*, and supposing the citation to be derived from the *Minos* of Epimenides, while Mr. Powell disputes this conclusion, and is inclined to accept the conjecture of Professor Margoliouth that the name is a corruption of *Καλλίμαχος ἐν ὕμνοῖς*, based upon Clement, *Protrept.* II. 37, in which these words occur. None of those who have discussed the point has however noticed that the strange name also occurs in the so-called Zacharias Rhetor I. v. (Land, *Anecd. Syr.* III. p. 16, l. 25; transl. Krüger and Ahrens, p. 18^x, l. 10),⁴ where we find the following passage: 'As he said, according to⁵ (?) MKSNYDYS a prophet of their own, "The Cretans are always liars, etc."' The letters KSN are very indistinct in the MS., but the passage in Isho'dad leaves scarcely any doubt

that Land (who had the advantage of seeing the MS. fifty years earlier) has read them correctly.⁶ 'Zacharias' wrote in 569, and the chapter in which the citation occurs consists of a supposed letter attributed to Moses of Ingila, the translator of the *Glaphyra* of Cyril, who lived about 550, and forming a preface to the version of the *Book of Joseph and Asenath* ascribed to Moses. That Isho'dad followed 'Zacharias' we cannot suppose; for, even if we could believe that he used Monophysite authorities, a commentator would not be likely to take an isolated passage from a historical writer; and both must therefore have drawn directly or indirectly from a common source, which was probably either a Syriac version of a Greek commentary on the epistles or a corrupt text of a Syriac commentary. Professor Margoliouth's suggestion as to the origin of the name is ingenious and attractive; but, if we accept it, we have to take the identity of the last five letters with the last five letters of *Ἐπιμενίδης* (more conspicuous in the text of 'Zacharias') as a mere coincidence; and as Greek words and names often appear in the strangest disguises in Syriac, the theory that MKSNYDYS is a corruption of *Ἐπιμενίδης* seems much more likely, though it is possible that the name has been formed by running together the names of Callimachus and Epimenides, who are mentioned in conjunction by Jerome and other commentators.⁷

E. W. BROOKS.

THE ACTS, XV. 29.

The Quarterly for January, 1919, p. 12, discussing W. E. Gladstone's conjectural emendation for Acts xv. 29, *ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος καὶ*

¹ *Expositor*, 7th ser., II., pp. 305 ff., III., pp. 332 ff.; 8th ser., IV., pp. 348 ff., IX., pp. 29 ff.; see also Introduction to Mrs. Gibson's edition of Isho'dad vol. IV., pp. xii ff.

² Ed. Gibson, IV., p. 40; transl. p. 29.

³ *Id.* V., p. 146; transl. p. 99.

⁴ In my new text of 'Zach.' for the *Corp. Scr. Christ. Orient.* p. 19, l. 15.

⁵ Or 'of.' The text is perhaps corrupt.

⁶ When sending my text to press, I did not know of the passage in Isho'dad, and have therefore left the three letters blank as too uncertain to print.

⁷ See above, vol. XXX., p. 35.

πικτῶν¹ καὶ πορνείας, where he wished to read πορκείας, thus making the whole verse 29 dietetic, like a modern rations card, says the word πορκεία is not in L. and S. πόρκος, however, is, with the reference to Plut., Popli., and πορκεία comes as easily from πόρκος as πορνεία from πόρνος. The eating of pigs' flesh in this connexion is as congruous to the context as πορνεία is abhorrent.

H. H. JOHNSON.

NOTES ON HORACE.

C. i. 14.

O navis, referent in mare te novi fluctus! O quid agis? fortiter occupa portum!

HORACE often begins a sentence with a comparative adverb: *parcius*, i. 25, 1; *latius*, ii. 2, 9; *rectius*, ii. 10, 1, and iv. 9, 46. In such cases a comparison-essential to the sense, is justly emphasised by position. *Fortiter occupa portum*, however, is the only sentence in the *Odes* that begins with an adjectival adverb not in the comparative degree. The word *fortiter* is therefore marked as exceptionally significant. Why, then, is it ignored in translations? Lytton: 'What wouldst thou? Make fast, O, make fast for the haven!' Calverley: 'What dost thou? Seek a haven and there rest thee.' Conington: 'Oh, haste to make the haven yours!' What instinct constrains these faithful translators to strike out an adverb so highly distinguished by the poet? The answer seems to be that they were aware, consciously or subconsciously, not that *fortiter* is otiose, but that it is ruinous to the sense. The virtue displayed by a skipper who runs for harbour because his ship is no longer seaworthy is *prudencia*, not *fortitudo*; and the purpose of the ode is to commend to statesmen a cautious and pacific rather than a courageous policy. *Fortiter* is therefore exactly the wrong word.

Sense may be restored by amending the punctuation:

O quid agis fortiter? Occupa portum!

'Why this untimely display of courage? Make harbour!' It will be objected that the rhythmical balance is upset; that the unqualified *occupa portum!* is intolerably abrupt; that it sounds like a shout—an effect suitable to a ballad (as Scott's 'Charge, Chester, charge!' or Macaulay's 'Grasp your pikes! close your ranks!') but not agreeable to the suave movement of a Horatian ode. I reply (1) that, in any case, the stanza is exceptional, representing in its asyndeta and sharp transitions the excitement of one who watches a ship in distress; (2) that the shouting effect is repeated with greater abruptness in *cave!* below, a sudden imperative for which the reader is in no way prepared by the protasis *nisi ventis debes ludibrium*.

C. A. VINCE.

Serm. II. 1, 886:

Solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis.

The poet wishes to feel free to attack individuals after the manner of Lucilius. His friend Trebatius, the lawyer, dissuades him, pointing out that he would be liable to prosecution. The question is, what would be the outcome of such a trial? Trebatius, on hearing Horace's proposed defence, thinks he would get off, expressing the manner of his escape by *solventur risu tabulae*.

It is apparent from *risu* that a part of the imagined proceedings was the reading to the court of the incriminating verses. They would be found to be of excellent literary quality, and directed only against those who deserved reproof (the author being of blameless character). It is also clear from the use of *missus* (instead of *absolutus*) that the poet, as the result of his wit and cleverness, would be let off, but not formally acquitted. This implies that the trial was brought to a halt and the case abandoned. This could come about through the retirement of the accuser from the case, his mere absence from the court being sufficient. Several

¹ πικτῶν V. L. (LTr) πικτοῦ.

instances of this kind are known,¹ so that there is no inherent difficulty in the matter of procedure. It is quite possible, however, that the case came to an end with the mere rising of the court, which, of course, was one of the *quaestiones perpetuae*.² In the older trials before the people the assembly might be broken up by the disappearance of the flag from Janiculum, as in the case of Rabirius,³ or by internal tumult. It is the latter situation which Horace in harmonious fashion may be seeking to re-echo, *risu* arousing associations with *tumultu*.

We are now in a position to consider the meaning of *tabulae*, which is taken variously as indictment (Palmer), writing tablets (Orelli), benches of the jurymen (Porphyrio), the satires themselves (Zeune), the laws (Schütz), and the praetor's *formula* in the case (Lejay). 'The exact meaning of *tabulae*,' says Morris, 'cannot be determined.' If, however, one has occasion to busy himself with legal texts he receives an abiding impression of the frequent use of *tabulae* in governmental administration. On looking more closely he finds they are kept by quaestors, praetors, censors, election officers, and municipal senates, and are nothing more or less than official records. In the *lex Acilia repetundarum* the *tabulae* contain the names of the jurors and the attorneys. That they were also records of the proceedings in court is shown by an important (but overlooked) passage in a letter of Caelius to Cicero describing a case against Servilius.⁴ The jury was evenly divided, and the praetor thereupon gave a verdict for the defendant. Thinking later that he had misinterpreted the law 'he did not enter the defendants on the records as acquitted, but merely wrote out the verdicts of the

several *decuriae* '—'in *tabulas absolutum non rettulit, ordinum iudicia perscripsit*.' It is evident from this not only that *tabulae* were court records, but also (what seems not to have been recognised hitherto) they were kept by the presiding praetor. In our passage *tabulae* are the records of the proceedings in the case against Horace. When the court adjourns the hearing in its amusement at his witty verses, they are cancelled (*solventur*⁵); the case, as we say, is stricken from the docket, and the poet walks out a free man.

Epp. II. 3, 120-3:

Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,
Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer
Iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.

The point I wish to discuss here is the use of *honoratum*. On the ground that Achilles is not honoured in the *Iliad* and, that if he were, it would be unsuitable to speak of him as *iracundus*, etc., Bentley conjectured *Homereum* and printed it in his text. In this he was followed by Munro in 1869, and later by L. Müller, who read *Homericum*. However, *honoratum* is now usually retained, though the medium assigned to it varies. Krüger thinks it should be completed by *fama*; Wilkins takes it as 'when in receipt of his due honours,' Rolfe as 'restored to honour in distinction from his situation' at the beginning of the *Iliad*. The latest discussion of the passage by Frederick Pollock brings out this same point. He says, '*re* of *reponis* must mean something. It cannot mean to restore to the stage in the modern theatrical sense of revival, for the whole passage deals with the treatment of stock motives and characters. The emphatic position of *honoratum* has been overlooked. The dramatist undertakes to restore Achilles to his worshipful standing: therefore, I would translate, In case you take for your subject Achilles' Worship Restored.'

All this is to make a difficulty of what would seem to be simple enough. *Hono-*

¹ Cf. *Lex Acil.* 70 (Bruns' *Fontes*, p. 70) for ways of hindering a trial, and see the cases of retirement of accusers cited by Greenidge in *Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*, p. 468, n. 1. Cf. also *Orationes Claudii*, Bruns, pp. 98-9.

² Cic. *pro Balb.* 28, 65: 'Cum omnium peccatorum quaestiones sint,' quoted by Greenidge, p. 427.

³ Strachan-Davidson, *Roman Criminal Law*, i. 201; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, p. 258.

⁴ See 26, Bruns, p. 64.

⁵ 2 *Fam.* viii. 8, 3.

⁵ Cf. Cic. *de Or.* ii. 58, 236: *res . . . ioco risuque dissolvit*.

Quint. v. 10, 67: *cum risu tota res solvitur*.

Class. Rev. XXXI. 52 (March, 1917).

ratum is the use, common enough in the Augustan age, of a perfect participle in agreement with noun to express a verbal idea. Thus Livy (XXI. 46, 10) says *servati consulis decus*, and *huius belli perfecti laus*. The idiom is frequent in Horace, and in an article¹ on *Sat. I. 6, 126*, I have brought together a virtually complete collection of the examples. It is somewhat strange how scholars have stumbled over this construction, a classic example being the great Ribbeck's comment² on Juvenal X. 110. In answer to the question: What overthrew men like Pompey and Crassus and Caesar? Juvenal writes: 'Summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus,' whereupon Ribbeck remarks: 'Wie kann der höchste Stand oder der Gipfel der Macht Jemanden zu Boden stürzen?' In our passage *honoratum* . . . *Achillem* means 'the honouring of Achilles,' the reference being of course to the embassy. Achilles was certainly honoured on this occasion, whatever be his treatment in the rest of the *Iliad*. If a writer wishes to portray him after Homer (hence *reponere*), he must be true to type—'Famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge,' as the poet remarks in verse 119. Specifically Horace has in mind the behaviour of Achilles at the embassy, although the description he gives of him there might also apply to his character in general.

JEFFERSON ELMORE.

Stanford University.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS, XV. 9.

[No. 742 in Tyrrell and Purser's
Edition.]

Di immortales! quam me conturbatum tenuit epistulae tuae prior pagina? Quid autem iste in domo tua casus armorum?

THE explanations of this passage suggested in that fine edition of Cicero's *Correspondence*, from which I copy the above passage, do not seem quite satisfactory. It is, as the editors suggest,

unlikely that there should be a 'fracas' in such a sedate establishment as that of Atticus. On the other hand, the emendation *casus armariorum*, 'fall of cupboards,' would hardly explain the very remarkable sentence that precedes; unless we take Cicero's alarm to be counterfeited and suppose the sentence to be jocular. This does not seem very likely, for the rest of the letter is in a vein of deep despondency. A few days later he says 'βλάσφημα mittamus,' and less than a fortnight from the present date he writes 'mihi res ad caedem et eam quidem propinquam spectare videtur.'

Is it not possible that the phrase *casus armorum* means simply 'the fall of arms'—i.e., some weapon, or weapons, in Atticus's house fell down without apparent reason, and this was taken by both Atticus and Cicero as an omen of war? This would explain the alarm expressed in 'Di immortales! quam me conturbatum tenuit. . . .' It would also account for the anticipations of war that Cicero now begins to indulge in. Superstition, of course, was part and parcel of Roman life, and it is not likely that Cicero was entirely exempt from it. If this view is correct, we have an exact parallel in Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, Canto I., stanza 27, where Douglas's sword falls to the floor at the approach of Fitzjames. In Canto II., stanza 15, the old minstrel explains this as an omen of the approach of a secret foe.

When we find Livy, in spite of a sort of apology, carefully reporting wearisome crops of prodigies every year, we need not hesitate to ascribe superstition to Cicero.

H. W. M. BURD.

VIRGIL, *AEN.* VII. 7. 641 ff.

MR. WARDE FOWLER in his interesting book, *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans*, says (p. 42), 'there is no very intelligible geographical order in the show.' But there is a method of arrangement, which I, or perhaps one of my pupils (I forget now), detected some time ago. Mezentius leads—the impious Mezen-

¹ *Class. Rev.* XIX. 400 ff. (November, 1905).

² *Der Echte und der Unechte Juvenal*, p. 54.

tius against pious Aeneas, as Servius said; and it is natural enough that Turnus and Camilla should close the procession. But what of the eleven chiefs who come in between? It is enough to set down their names in the order they are given: Aventinus, Catillus and Coras, Caeculus (Messapus), Clausus, Halaesus, Oebalus, Ufens, Umbro, Virbius. The order is obviously alphabetical. Messapus, however, is out of place. I do not imagine that the poet set any store on this alphabetical arrangement, or would have cared about disturbing it. But the difficulties of the Messapus-passage are great; the awkward zeugma (*habent acies and arces*), the unfinished line (*pulsa palus*), and the almost comic effect of the two similes in juxtaposition (*canoros, raucarum*); not to mention that Messapus is in another way out of place—the eponymous hero of Messapia with such followers. The paragraph was at least left by Virgil in an unrevised state, perhaps at the foot of the page or in the margin, and the editors were troubled. I should like to transpose them to the alphabetical place after Halaesus, for one would thus restore what I fancy was the intention—to mention the arms of the followers, beginning with Mezentius down to Virbius, only in every other case. It is true that special arms should be given to Umbro's troops, but the paragraph ends in a broken line. It may well be that for the time Virgil was puzzled as to what arms to give them, when he had already had recourse even to aclydes—boomerangs, as Mr. J. Y. Powell has shown. I would add on the question of unfinished lines that both Mr. Mackail (*C.R.*, December, 1915) and Mr. Fowler (p. 93) have missed two; there are 57, not 55 of them. The missing two are, I suspect, 2,787 *Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus*, and 5,815 *unum pro multis dabitur caput*. A. M. Cook.

VIRGIL, *AENEID*, VIII. 23.

IN his *Aeneas at the site of Rome* Warde Fowler has again explained many obscurities in Virgil, but he has left the old crux of VIII. 23, with an admission

of its difficulty. The lines in question are:

sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aenis
sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia pervolitat late loca.

Some commentators assume a mixed figure that borrows the language of the mint (*percutio nummum*), others a confused picture caused by the poet's carelessness in referring the point of reflection to the sun instead of to the water. But the precision of Virgil's visual sense can seldom be questioned with impunity. Perhaps the difficulty will vanish if we read the passage with the Epicurean conception of light in mind. From Siro and Lucretius Virgil had learned that light was a succession of particles emitted from its source in a constant stream. Indeed, he may here have had in mind the striking lines of Lucretius, IV. 189, 190:

suppeditatur enim confestim lumine lumen
et quasi protelo stimulat fulgure fulgur.

At any rate the Epicurean theory underlies such phrases of Virgil as 'aera . . . sole lacessita' (VII. 527) and 'quaerit pars semina flammae abstrusa in venis silicis' (VI. 6).

The simple form *percussum* would have caused less difficulty, but the prefix *re* does not necessarily mean 'back' or 'again.' It sometimes has the force of 'down' (*reclinis, reclivis*), it may be intensive as in *redundo*, or it may imply continuity as in *respiro, revereor, redolere*. The passage seems therefore to mean: As when light, emitted by sun or moon, shimmering on the water, flits about.

I may add that except for the strange Pythagoreanism¹ of the sixth book, which was apparently assumed for reasons of plot, the whole of the *Aeneid* is best comprehended as the work of an Epicurean poet. And in so far I would question Warde Fowler's discussion of Fate (*ibid.* pp. 122-9). Virgil's inconsequential *Fatum* may be understood in the light of Lucretius II. 250-307, and his histrionic divinities are explained by Lucretius II. 600-660.

TENNEY FRANK.

Bryn Mawr, Penna.

¹ The poet, of course, did not seriously believe in an abode where souls appeared before birth in their future attributes.

TWO PASSAGES OF VIRGIL.

Aen. VIII. 376-378:

non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogavi
 artis opisque tuae, nec te, carissime coniunx,
 incassumve tuos volui exercere labores
 378 incassumque *M. pr. man.*

'As it seems to me, a very ill-elaborated passage, both in respect of sound and sense,' says Henry of the whole of 377-381; and it must be allowed that we have here a rough patch which wanted the poet's *ultima manus*. All the more, therefore, does it behove us not lightly to call in question the correctness of the text offered by our MSS. Despite this, and despite the fact that, from the very nature of the Virgilian tradition, the textual critic pipes always to readers who will not dance (nor do I very much blame them), I am moved to make a suggestion upon the text of line 378.

It is Latin, and it is Virgilian, to say *labor aliquem exercet* (see *Aen.* I. 431). It is Latin, and Virgilian, to say *labore aliquem exerceo* (see *Aen.* VIII. 412). It is Latin, though the phrase does not occur in Virgil, to say *aliquis exercet labores*: Virgil has *vires, iras, vices, exercere*, all of which are analogous; nor are *choros, cantus, exercere* much dissimilar. *humum exerceo, taurum exerceo* are Latin and Virgilian. But, unless one is addressing a field, or a beast of the field, is *te exerceo* Latin for 'I make you work, I work you'? and is *exerceo tuos labores* Latin for it either? or are the two together, with a connecting *-ve* (or even a *-que*), Latin for it? No editor seems to feel any doubt of it in this passage; and that the conjunct phrase, as = *te tuis laboribus exerceo*, is impossible it would be rash to affirm. But it is at least questionable.

A small change would rid us of all difficulty. I would suggest that the true reading in 378 is *incassum vetitos volui*: 'I did not desire (indeed it had been vain) that you should labour at forbidden toils.' The conjecture derives support from Vulcan's reply in lines 395-404. 'If you had asked me for arms,' he there says in effect, 'when Troy was about to fall, you would have

found that the labour you call *forbidden* could have been allowed:

similis si cura fuisset
 tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuisset;
 nec pater omnipotens Troiam nec fata *veti-*
bant 398
 stare, decemque alios Priamum superesse per
 annos.'

nec vetabant in line 398 lacks point (and is even obscure) if Venus has not referred to a supposed decree of fate making it *nefas* for Vulcan to make arms for Aeneas at Troy. *vetitos* in 378 supplies the required reference. *nec . . . vetabant* is rendered by Conington 'the fates did not forbid (if you had only known it).' With *vetitos* it will mean 'you were wrong when you said that the fates forbade.'

Aen. XII. 93-97:

validam vi corripit hastam,
 Actoris Aurunci spoliū, quassatque trementem
 vociferans: 'nunc, o numquam frustrata vocatus
 hasta meos, nunc tempus adest: te maximus
 Actor,
 te Turni nunc dextra gerit.'

96. 'te maximus Actor: understand *antea gessit*,' says Conington. But is *Actor* here a proper name? or should we write *actor* (*te maximus actor nunc gerit*)? Statius has *actor habenae* (*Ach.* II. 134); and *actor hastae* is equally natural. Statius may very well have borrowed *actor* in this sense from Virgil. The play on the proper name *Actor* is quite in Virgil's manner. Thus at III. 183 he has *cassus Cassandra canebat* (*cassus Postgate*: *casus codd.*), and at VII. 791 *argumentum ingens et custos virginis Argus*.

H. W. GARROD.

Merton College, Oxford.

CATULLUS 39, 11 *PARCUS*
UMBER.

IN 1894 were published some extracts from the *Liber Glossarum*, a huge encyclopaedia-dictionary which I believe (but cannot prove) to have been compiled at Corbie in the abbacy of Adelard (from about the year 775). Since they appeared in vol. V. of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* they have been ignored in this country, where Latin

Glossaries are by common consent relegated to the Gentiles' Court as things remote from the orthodox devotion of English Latinists, devotion to the conjectural emendation of the text of a few Latin poets. Yet they contain things that should interest all of us. They tell us, for example (on the authority of a lost *Vita Vergiliana*), that Virgil was called to the bar but held only one brief (*C.G.L. V. 249, 17* 'togam est consecutus; egit causam non amplius quam unam'). And they emend (without conjecture's precarious aid) a line of Catullus. One of the sources used by the Corbie compiler was a Collection of Examples (of the meaning of words) from Authors. The meaning of *pinguis* was there illustrated by Catull. 39, 11:

aut pinguis Umber aut obesus Etruscus,
a very suitable line, since it contrasts *pinguis* with *obesus*, the sleek embonpoint of the dairy-farmer of Sassina with the unhealthy 'undistributed middle' of the sensual Etrurian. How did *parcus* find its way into our MSS. of Catullus?

In that 'editio illepidi' of a lepidus poeta, that warning example how palaeography should *not* be used by an editor, the Teubner commentary of Friedrich, it is declared that Catullus wrote *pastus*, of which *parcus* is a faulty transcription and *pinguis* a gloss. But that Catullus wrote *pinguis* is, we may say, proved by the *pinguibus Umbris* of Persius (3, 74). *Parcus* may be a conjectural emendation of some miswriting of *pinguis*, or it may be a deliberate alteration by some Umbrian scribe of the archetype. Ellis thinks it may belong to a second ancient recension.

In the apparatus of the Oxford (Script. Class. Bibl.) text we find '. . . pinguis Gloss. Vatic. in Maii Class. Auct. VII. 574 Pinguis: grassus; nam obesus plus est quam pinguis: Catullus ait "Aut pinguis,"' etc. But how meaningless all this is to a reader! How differently it impresses him when he is told that Mai found the gloss in an inferior MS. of the Liber Glossarum; that the compiler of the Liber Glossarum took it from a Collection of Examples from Authors which is quite as likely to have been an ancient collection (like Arusianus Messius' Quadriga) as a Carolingian (like Mico's Prosody), since much of its

lore can be traced to Donatus (*Class. Quart. XI. 128*). And how necessary it becomes to elicit from the chief MSS. of the Liber Glossarum all possible information about this lost work! Goetz has published only extracts. But we must get all the items of the Liber Glossarum published which have come from this source.

And that is the object of this article. Are there half a dozen teachers of Latin in this country who have enough zeal for research to be willing to spend their forenoons for a week (or, still better, a fortnight) in one or other of the following libraries, where are the oldest MSS. of this Corbie dictionary: the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the Vaticana of Rome, the Bibliothèque de Ville of Tours, the Stadtbibliothek of Berne, the Königliche Bibliothek of Munich, the Ambrosiana of Milan? If there are, and if they will write to me, so that their labours may be distributed and directed, the thing will be done.

W. M. LINDSAY.

The University, St. Andrews.

THE DERIVATION OF LATIN 'RUDIS' QUASI SINGLESTICK.

IT is deplorable to go backward in our scientific knowledge, but this is what has happened in regard to the etymology of Lat. *rudis*. Stowasser, in his Latin lexicon of 1900, explained the noun *rudis* by adding after it 'sc. *uirga hasta*'; and under the adjective he cited the Virgilian instance, viz. *Aeneid IX. 743*,

ille rudem nodis et cortice crudo
intorquet . . . hastam.

This passage certainly suggests that the *rudis* was first a sort of knobkerry or an unwrought singlestick. This good explanation was silently withdrawn in Skutsch's revision of Stowasser in 1910. In 1915 Zimmerman, in his etymological lexicon, revived the suggestion—but, if I may say so, very coldly. Walde has disdained even to mention it.

One interested in root derivation might be disposed to connect the noun *ru-dis* directly with *ru-trum* and *rutabulum*, from a root *ru* (see Walde *s.v. ruo*), to scratch, so that the original sense of *rutrum* *rutabulum* will have

been 'scratcher, digging stick.' Even then it seems to me that Lat. *rudis* (rough < scratching) is earlier than *rudis*, knobkerri. Latin (from Greek) *ruta* (rue) will have meant, to start with, the rough plant or the plant of rough taste (*cf.* Lat. *asper*, of wine, brine). The root of *rudis* will be ultimately not different from the root of Eng. *rough*, Lat. *rau-cus*, rough of voice. This raises the question of the ultimate cognation of *rudis* (rough) and *rudis* (howls). Did the sense of 'grating' come from 'howling' or conversely? We should be cautious not to disbelieve the one or the other if we recall that, in point of derivation, Eng. *smooth* meant, to start with, 'creamy.'

But waving all question of the remoter cognates, I wish to record myself as entirely satisfied with Stowasser's derivation of the noun *rudis* (*sc. uirga hasta*) from the adjective *rudis* (rough). *Cf.* the Spanish noun *largo* (billiard cue), from Lat. *largus* (broad, expansive), though *largus* must in Spanish have got the sense of 'long' prior to the development of the nominal sense of 'cue.'

EDWIN W. FAY.

The University of Texas.

LIVY II. 80. 4.

sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperio suo vehemens mansueto permitteretur ingenio.

As the above passage stands in the MSS., there is no subject for 'permitteretur.' This difficulty is fully discussed by Professor Conway in his edition of Livy II. (*C.U.P.* 1912, p. 134), who takes Moritz Müller's suggestion and prints MAGISTRATUS between 'vehemens' and 'mansueto.' It seems evident that some word closely akin to 'imperio' and 'magistratus' has dropped out of the text, probably through haplography. Professor Conway mentions two proposals that have been made, but does not accept them. They are: (1) '*Imperii vis vehemens*' (Madvig); (2) '*Imperium sua vi vehemens*' (Frigell). Each of these proposals involves a twofold tampering with the text, apart from Professor Conway's objection (*loc. cit.*).

The present writer suggests the insertion of MUNUS after 'vehemens.' MUNUS

would be more likely to fall out between VEHEMENS and MANSUETO than would MAG^{RS}. (abbreviated for 'magistratus').

For MUNUS used in connexion with a magistracy, *cp.* est proprium munus magistratus, intellegere, se gerere personam civitatis (Cicero, *De Off.* I. 34. 124).

M. KEAN.

*Collegiate School,
Liverpool.*

LIVY XXI. 48. 3.

'*Nummis aureis* quadringentis Dasio Brundisino praefecto praesidii corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium.'

With hardly an exception, commentators have fallen foul of the words 'nummis aureis.'¹ On the authority of a statement of Pliny² they declare that gold coins were not struck in Rome before 217 B.C.,³ and conclude that Livy's allusion to them in connexion with events of 218 B.C. must be an anachronism.

This anachronism, if it be one, certainly does not stand alone in the pages of Livy, whose antiquarian accuracy was not above reproach. Yet Livy was certainly aware that in the earlier days of the Roman republic large sums of money were paid by weight.⁴ And the knowledge of this fact is not likely to have slipped from him in the present case, for in the above passage his method of expression is somewhat stilted and gives the impression of aiming at a studied effect. Our author therefore was on the alert, and we should think twice before we reproach him with a careless blunder.

But on second thoughts the objections

¹ Nash (1874); Capes (1878); Dowdall (1885); Dimsdale (1888); Tatham (1889); Traves (1899); Allcroft and Hayes (1902). Westcott (1892) tries to evade the difficulty by translating 'an amount of gold of the value of 400 aurei.' But this does excessive violence to Livy's language.

² *Hist. Naturalis* 33. 47: aureus nummus post annos li. percussus est quam argenteus.

³ This date, which some scholars reject in favour of 218 B.C., has recently been rehabilitated by Leuze (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1915, pp. 37-46).

⁴ *E.g.*, 22. 23. 3; argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret.

to Livy's version lose all their force. For one thing, it is by no means certain that Pliny's date for the first emission of gold coin at Rome is correct. Some leading numismatists have used the evidence of style—which is a safer criterion in expert hands than a second or third-hand snippet from Pliny—to date back the earliest extant gold pieces from the mint at Rome to the last years of the First Punic War, or to some other period anterior to the Second Punic War.¹ Again, it is quite arbitrary to assume that Hannibal's choice of gold coins was limited to the issues of the Roman moneyers. Indeed, if he paid in coin at all, he probably did not use Roman pieces. The earliest Roman gold coinage, whatever its date, was almost certainly an emergency issue. It was intended to cope with a stringency of money in Rome itself and therefore would not circulate widely outside the city. It is unlikely, therefore, that Hannibal could have hoarded a sufficient stock of these aurei to liquidate his transaction with Dasius. We should look beyond Rome for the provenance of the four hundred gold pieces.

Now if we take a survey of those mints whose coins might possibly have come into Hannibal's hands, we shall have to travel over quite a wide field. In Italy alone gold coins of the third century are known to have been struck at Volsinii, Capua, Heraclea, Tarentum, and among the Bruttii. In Sicily issues in the same metal were not uncommon in the fifth century, and in the third century the mint of Syracuse was singularly prolific of gold pieces. Carthage too issued gold currency in the early and middle part of the same century, and even some of the tribes of Gaul had followed suit.² Of the mints in the Eastern Mediterranean, it may suffice to mention that of the great Macedonian kings, Philip and Alexander.

Gold coins, therefore, were plentiful enough in Hannibal's time. And we

need not doubt that—setting aside the case of emergency issues—they had a wide circulation among the armies of that period, for they would be far more convenient to carry than the bulky silver pieces.³ Indeed some of the principal gold coinages, such as those of Syracuse and Tarentum, of Macedon and Carthage, and the pieces struck under Roman authority at Capua, were evidently meant in the first instance for military use. Their emission usually coincided with some important military effort, and was on such a scale as to exceed by far the needs of the local market.⁴ Almost any and every one of the issues above mentioned would have served Hannibal's purpose. The coins of Carthage would presumably be the easiest for him to come by; those of Macedon, and, in a less degree, of Syracuse and Tarentum, enjoyed the greatest international reputation; and the last-named were probably the most familiar to the recipient, a native of Brundisium.

But it is useless to break our heads in endeavouring to find in what particular species Hannibal paid Dasius. Suffice it to say that he probably had plenty of 'nummi aurei' of one sort or another at his disposal, and that there is no warrant for accusing Livy of inaccuracy in his description of Hannibal's bargain.

M. CARY.

University of London.

QUINTILIAN I. 9. 2.

I THINK it should be stated that the interpretation of this passage represented by Mr. F. H. Colson in the last number of the CLASSICAL REVIEW is assumed by M. L. Havet on p. xvi of his edition of 1895, where it is cited amongst the 'testimonia de Phaedro.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic*, introd. p. lv; vol. i., p. 12. Hill, *Historical Roman Coins*, pp. 40-43. Hill's date (c. 242 B.C.) commends itself strongly on historical grounds.

² Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum* and the British Museum *Catalogue of Coins*.

³ The inconvenience of silver money to an army in rapid motion is amusingly illustrated in Oman, *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. ii., p. 348.

⁴ This is particularly true of the copious issues described in Evans' *Horsemen of Tarentum*, pp. 81-2, 97, 140-1.

POMPEY'S COMPROMISE.

PROFESSOR TENNEY FRANK'S suggestion¹ that Pompey's offer to prolong Caesar's command in Gaul till November 13, 49 B.C., was coupled with a provision for the insertion of two intercalary months in the early part of that year receives support from the following passage in Cicero's correspondence: 'leuissime enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat (Curio), transfugit ad populum' (*Ad Familiares* 8. 6. 5. Written by Caelius to Cicero in March, 50 B.C., some two months before Pompey made his offer to Caesar).

This passage shows that the question of calendar reform was in the air at the time when Pompey made his offer to Caesar. We do not know what attitude Pompey adopted towards Curio's scheme at the outset; but once Curio had abandoned his motion and left a free field to Pompey the latter had a double interest in reviving the question of intercalation. Not only, as Professor Frank points out, would a manipulation of the calendar enable him to make a specious offer to Caesar, but it would place his antagonist Curio in a dilemma. If Curio accepted Pompey's calendar reform, he would prejudice the interests of his patron Caesar. If he opposed it after himself introducing a similar or identical scheme, he would lay himself open to the charge of inconsistency. The second of these results, moreover, was one which Pompey was anxious to attain. His general policy of *riposte* against Curio at this time was to pretend that he, Pompey, and not Curio, was Caesar's true friend, that Curio was a mere irresponsible mischief-maker.²

¹ *Classical Review*, May-June, 1919, pp. 68-9.

² *Ad Familiares* 8. 11. 3: Pompeius, tamquam Caesarem non impugnet, sed quod illi aequum putet constituat aut Curionem quaerere discordias.

There is, therefore, good reason for believing that Professor Frank has offered a valid explanation of a difficulty which has long baffled historians.

M. CARY.

University of London.

NOSTRUM NOBIS.

IN *Archiv* 15. 47 (anno 1908; cf. *Kleine Schriften*, p. 321), in a paragraph entitled *Ersatz des Komparationskasus*, Skutsch wrote as follows: Woher dies *quam* gekommen ist, lässt sich mit einem Worte sagen—und doch ist es nirgends gesagt. . . . Genau so ist im Lateinischen *hic clarior est quam ille* statt *clarior est illo* eingetreten nach der Analogie von *hic tam clarus est quam ille*. But in the *Classical Review* 8. 458 (anno 1894) I had written: A very transparent origin for the Latin *quam* (than) can be made out, e.g. *tam ego fui liber quam* (sc. *liber*) *gnatus tuus* (Plautus, *Cpt.* 310); it is but a step to *liberior quam gnatus tuus*. Also in my edition of the *Mostellaria* (anno 1902) I presented the case for interaction between comparison of equality and comparison of inequality at least as thoroughly as Skutsch. To my examples I may now add from Wycherley's *Gentleman Dancing Master* (i. 2), Thou hast made the best use of three months at Paris as ever English squire did. In his small volume on Horace (ch. vi., p. 110 of the Lippincott edition) Sir Theodore Martin got two types of comparison of inequality into confusion, viz. in the sentence: 'the wife so chosen seems to have been at pains to make herself *more* attractive to everybody *rather* than to her husband.'

EDWIN W. FAY.

University of Texas.

REVIEWS

THE PRICE OF FREEDOM.

The Price of Freedom: An Anthology for All Nations, chosen by F. MELIAN STAWELL. 7½" × 4¾". Pp. 165. 24 illustrations. London: Headley Brothers. Price 3s. 6d. net.

MISS F. M. STAWELL, in her interesting collection of extracts from the poets and thinkers of many nations, does not shrink from contemplating the harsh and cruel sides of life, which emerge so often in the age-long struggle for freedom. Her little book may thus prove a useful corrective to the serene beauty of Mr. Bridges' great *Anthology*, which inspired it. Twenty-four illustrations are added, most of them being happily chosen, though Rembrandt's 'Anatomy Lesson' might well have been omitted. Miss Stawell draws on German writers (chiefly Goethe and Nietzsche) and also, rather largely, on Walt Whitman and Browning, all of whom were passed over by Mr. Bridges.

For the *Classical Review* the main interest of the book lies in its quotations from the classics. We are struck by the entire absence of Latin, except for a few lines from Spinoza. Is there nothing to be found in Livy or Tacitus, Virgil or the Roman Stoics, to hearten the world in its fight 'pulchra pro libertate' (*Aen.* VI. 821)? It is noteworthy that Mr. Bridges also allows classical Latin literature to be represented by a single passage from the *Aeneid*. Some lover of Latin ought to fill up this gap, if it can be filled. The

Greek quotations are nearly all well-known ones. Unfortunately only four out of fifteen appear with an absolutely accurate Greek text: mis-spellings and wrong accents abound. It is a pity that such mistakes should have been allowed to survive the proof-sheets. The translations are generally Miss Stawell's own: that of the Thermopylae epitaph—'Stranger, tell the Spartans that we have obeyed their orders, and have fallen here'—reads very flat: the emphasis is on τῇδε κείμεθα, 'here we lie,' and the noble lines almost demand a couplet in verse. Antigone's answer to Creon (*Soph. Antigone* 523) is admittedly a difficult line, for which a perfect rendering has perhaps not yet been found; but Miss Stawell's lengthy paraphrase sadly weakens it. For the Athenian battle-song in the *Persians* (402-5) Browning's rendering is used. In spite of Browning's name, one misses the steady rhythm of the Greek, and a printer's slip in punctuation does not improve matters. Plato furnishes but one quotation, of six words only; Thucydides none. Altogether the Greek extracts grip the reader far less than they ought to do.

It is only fair to add that the Greek forms a very small part of the book, and that the translations from the French and German are well done, especially two fine prose passages, one from Zola (p. 78) and one from Victor Hugo (p. 90).

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

NATURAL SCIENCE AND THE CLASSICAL SYSTEM IN EDUCATION.

Natural Science and the Classical System in Education: Essays New and Old. Edited by Sir RAY LANKESTER. One volume. Pp. x+268. London: Heinemann, 1918. 2s. 6d. net.

THE Committee on the Neglect of Science have entrusted to Sir Ray

Lankester the publication of essays on 'Natural Science in Education,' by the Master of Balliol; on 'The Case against the Classical Languages' and 'A Modern Education,' by Mr. H. G. Wells; on 'Science and Educational Reconstruction,' by Mr. F. W. Sanderson; and 'The Aim of Education,' by the editor.

The last essay is a trumpet-call, as loud as possible, intended to rally the friends of science against their supposed enemy, the tradition of classical teaching.

In discussing the value of these essays I shall try to set out the lists for the encounter between the combatants as accurately as is needful. It might have been hoped that the champion of science as against the classics, the editor, would have anticipated the necessary explanations. But his command of scientific procedure is not adequate for the discussion before us.

We must begin by taking account of the several sciences. If we start with the more abstract sciences and proceed to the more concrete, we shall put mathematics first. Then in order will follow physics, chemistry, physiology both botanical and animal. As we thus proceed, each science takes for granted the results of the more abstract sciences which have preceded it. When, however, we leave physiology to go on to psychology, we find that it is only partly true that psychology demands a knowledge of its predecessors. A new element comes in. In the other sciences we study processes from the outside; in psychology we indeed study some processes from the outside, for example when we try to interpret the consciousness of animals. But the most characteristic part of psychology is that which is reached from the inside, by introspection, when consciousness expresses itself. It is at this point that we can enter fully upon anthropology, the scientific study of man, and not before. Not before this stage do we enter upon the subjects included under humanism. And when we do so enter, we find that we are no longer confined to the judgments of facts which make up the positive sciences, or, as Sir Ray Lankester calls them, the natural sciences. Sir Ray Lankester introduces an element of confusion when he removes the obvious and convenient distinction between those studies which are specially concerned with man such as folklore, comparative religion, history, literature, and so forth, and those studies such as physics and chemistry, which do not regard man as distinguished from the rest of the universe. So far as man is

something more than an animal, so far as the natural sciences with their judgments of fact need to be supplemented by humanist studies with their judgments of value, to that extent only (I must point out to Sir Ray Lankester) is man a spiritual being, as imperfect as you like, but still spiritual. When the editor was reprinting so large a part of the 'Essays on a Liberal Education,' why did he omit Wilson's paper 'On Teaching Natural Science in Schools'? The explanation is not far to seek. Wilson agrees (p. 256) that 'an education in science alone would not be the highest,' that 'in order to train men education must deal mainly with the feelings, the history, the language of men.' Such was the verdict of the one 'scientific' contributor to the volume in question.

We must therefore, in our systematic study of the problem, call in the assistance of human psychology and human ethics. It is the business of education, in the light of these sciences, to encourage the individual to form good habits of thinking, feeling, and acting. Perhaps the most effective, although not always the most satisfactory, means to this end is found in social opinion, social pressure, and social example. The boy who goes to school or the man who earns his living, needs, as far as he can, to understand and to value rightly these social forces, if only because he himself is a contributory element. And the individual cannot thus take his part effectively unless his imagination is exercised upon human affairs. Here, the natural sciences leave us at the threshold. They lack the watchword, the 'open sesame.' But the boy who in Latin has struggled as far as Caesar's Gallic War, or in Greek as far as the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, has had to construct in his own mind a picture, imperfect indeed, but yet a picture, of another age and another civilisation. Here we have a hint of the services of the classics in developing the boy's imagination: more than a hint is unnecessary. Now it is an ascertained fact that the development of the imagination accompanies to a very striking degree the development of the sense of language values. The Spirit comes often by way of the Word. Not all are susceptible

of this development to a very great extent, but there is reason for holding that to a small extent, all human beings are thus susceptible. It has yet to be shown that English and modern languages, other than English, offer the like discipline to the imagination and the speech faculty, which is furnished, say, by the Greek New Testament. English teaching, under scientific influences, fails to apply judgments of value. I still smart under the injustice of being compelled for an English examination to learn by heart when a boy a second-rate poem like Parnell's 'Hermit.' And the case of English studies is no better in these latter days. The classical authors—'splendors of the firmament of time'—whom Sir Ray Lankester characteristically describes (p. 264) as 'more or less ignorant and deluded,' rarely condescend to the level of thought and expression which is found when students of natural science leave their proper province. And this leads me to my third point: the classical tradition puts a boy in the way not only of a cultivated imagination and an increased susceptibility to the exact use of language: he is familiarised, as he tries to enter into the varied styles of the classical writers, with the application of a standard of beauty. This exercise of taste is a common possession of all modern literatures, so far as they derive from the classics.

So far as the classical tradition has disappeared in craftsmanship, to that extent our English surroundings have become barren, stale, unprofitable. The Victorian age is in this respect a by-word. The application in England of science to industrial processes from about 1760 marked the beginning of the end. Since that time the world has not only become uglier day by day so far as human production is concerned, but the human mind has lost for lack of exercise the power of responding to the appeal of the beautiful. The craftsman and the artist live out their careers in an alien world. Mr. Wells (p. 187), in his capacity of a prophet of to-day, rightly interprets the mind of to-day when he says that 'beautiful writing or painting is educational by reason of its thought and illumination, and not by reason

of its beauty.' I had been waiting for 'thought and illumination.' I now understand why the 'educationalist' empties the House of Commons, committees, public meetings. He speaks for a world from which beauty is left out.

The exclusive pursuit of natural science narrows the imagination by concentrating it upon non-human facts. It leaves undeveloped, or cramps or distorts the power of expression. A colleague of mine unkindly complains that Huxley was the last scientific man who wrote English.

The industrial revolution, with science for its guide, has destroyed the beauty of human surroundings. And English scientific men are in the main unconscious of the external amenities of life, an unconsciousness which they share with their business contemporaries. But the workman has awakened to his loss in this respect, his ugly dwellings, and his mean streets. He has been exploited spiritually by his isolation from the ancient and lovely traditions of the exterior world. And if he 'rots inwardly and foul contagion spreads,' who shall say how far the guilt lies with those who have taken from his home the last touches of beauty?

Mr. Wells is better than his word. In a passage (p. 206) which doubtless escaped the notice of the editor, Mr. Wells proposes that the 'common arch of the whole system' of education should rest upon the two pillars of classical and scientific studies. And there I should be content to leave it. The widened sympathies of the classical student can find room and a welcome for the renaissance of science, especially when, as in Mr. Sanderson's pages, he catches echoes of the glorious Lionardo. In schools with an engineering side a boy, not infrequently, goes over from the classical fifth to the engineering side, and the classical boy in one year, often, so I am assured, catches up and passes the engineering boy who starts with a two years' advantage in his special subject. But there is no fundamental hostility between the classical and the scientific curriculum. They find room in turn and *in their due order* for the development of those varied in-

dividualities which, in proportion to their rich difference, contribute to the meaning of the world.

I wonder what the Master of Balliol thinks of the concluding essay of the editor? Unhappy turns of speech like 'the dismal fatuities of grammarians' (p. 259), or 'overgrown staff of "unable" teachers' (p. 267), are matched by the elaborate identification of knowledge with wisdom (p. 254) and the unscientific confusion between the natural and the human sciences. Sir Ray Lankester has indeed given away the whole case of science so far as he is concerned. Wisdom is not the inevitable companion either of classical or scientific knowledge. It stands above them both, for it determines the ends to which man must direct not only his knowledge but his actions. But the Master of Balliol must be careful of the company he keeps. The spiritual life of man would indeed be starved if its main food were confined to the excite-

ments of the unusually distant, say, Saturn and his rings, or the movement of the blood corpuscles as seen under a microscope (p. 3). I say nothing of the consolations of religion. But a quotation from another Oxford writer shall be set against Mr. A. L. Smith and the interesting reprints from 'The Essays on a Liberal Education':

The words of some classic author . . . passages which to a boy are but rhetorical commonplaces . . . at length come home to him, when long years have passed, and he has had experience of life, and pierce him, as if he had never before known them, with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness.

Not even Mr. Sanderson's delightful exhibition of two years ago (p. 225) could give me the comfort which Newman and less eloquent souls have found in the loved pages of Virgil and Horace.

FRANK GRANGER.

University College,
Nottingham.

DIE PYTHAIS: STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER VERBINDUNGEN ZWISCHEN ATHEN UND DELPHI.

Die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi. Inaugural-dissertation von AXEL BOETHIUS. Uppsala, 1918.

THE author, a pupil of Professor Sam Wide, has made a very useful study of the Athenian sacrifice at Delphi, which was offered from time to time and called ἡ Πυθαΐς. His conclusions, which are based on a careful examination of the Delphic inscriptions, are as follows: at some early period, in response to a request from Athens, the oracle ordered that the sacrifice should be sent, when Zeus lightened above Harma (on Mount Parnes), and this led to the foundation of a sort of college of Pythaistae, who watched for the lightning three days and three nights in three months of the year. But so seldom did they observe it that ὅταν δι' Ἀρματος ἀστράψῃ became proverbial by the time of Pericles for 'seldom' or 'late,' as a comedian adapted the phrase to Pericles ὅταν διὰ Πυκνὸς ἀστράψῃ. The observatory was

'on the wall between the Pythion and the Olympion' (Strabo). In passing let us observe that this is one more refutation of the theory of Dörpfeld that the name Pythion was anciently applied to the north-west corner of the Acropolis. Mr. Boethius is also definitely against connecting Euripides, *Ion* 285, with the lightning on Harma and the watch of the Pythaistae. When the sacrifice was actually performed, it took place with the ancient ceremony, alluded to by Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 12, in which axe-bearers led the way. Mr. Boethius thinks it most probable that the axes were originally votive, like the Tenedian axe. Either this was the case, or they were relics of the ancient ritual, as observed in the case of the Buphonia. Attic legend connected the ceremony either with the coming of the god from Delos to Delphi or with Theseus clearing the land of robbers (*Schol. Med.* 1 and 2). The route taken was *via* Oenoe and Cithaeron, not *via* the Tetrapolis and Tanagra, according to Mr. Boethius,

who however deals fully with the quasi-independent religious connexions of the Tetrapolis with Delphi and Delos, a subject treated by Philochoros. Special ceremonies of the Pythais were the Pyrphoria and Tripodophoria, in which Mr. Boethius rightly sees the acknowledgment of the original foundation of the Pythion at Athens from Delphi. After 330 B.C. there was a long interval during which the sacrifice was not offered. It was always quite distinct from the Panhellenic Pythia, and was an Athenian function performed at Delphi. In 138 B.C. the custom was revived, without the old watch for the lightning, and at first without the Pythaists. Between this year and 97 B.C. the processions can be reconstructed with the aid of Delphic inscriptions as having taken place four times. In 128 the well-known Paeon of Limenius, to which the musical notes are attached, was sung, relating the old story of the coming of the god from Delos by way of Athens. In these years deliberate

archaism led to the restoration of the Pythaistae both adults and boys (an Icarian relief of the fourth century, of which Mr. Boethius gives an illustration, shows four such boys accompanied by an adult), while every effort was made by the Athenian state to lend dignity to the occasion by official representation. Even the Athenian guild of actors co-operated, and they were not only thanked by the Delphians, but a statue was erected with a complimentary inscription for their performances. Into the details of these later celebrations of the Pythais it is unnecessary to enter, but the general impression left by Mr. Boethius' work is that he has carefully studied the evidence and arrived at the best conclusions. His chief service is definitely to distinguish the Pythais from the Pythia, the Panhellenic festival, to which e.g. Demosthenes (xix. 128) refers. Why is a dissertation by a Swede written in German? G. C. RICHARDS.

Oriel College, Oxford.

GREEK POLITICAL THEORY: PLATO AND HIS PREDECESSORS.

Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors. 8vo. One vol. Pp. xiii + 403. London: Methuen and Co., September, 1918.

MR. BARKER'S volume is a recasting—indeed almost a rewriting—of the first part of his book on *The Political Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle* published in 1906. The writing of it, as he says, has been 'pure pleasure,' and he will take it as a compliment that the reading of it, pleasurable in itself, should have sent the present writer back to the even greater pleasure of communing with the spirit of their common master. He will forgive him then if this notice should refrain from dealing in detail with the virtues and occasional deficiencies of what will undoubtedly become a standard book for students of Greek political thought, and should dwell on one particular aspect of Plato's work, to the full significance of which this latest study, like others, has not done full justice.

'A city, we must remember,' says Mr. Barker in his second chapter (p. 24), in a passage added since the earlier volume, 'always meant to the Greeks a community of persons rather than an area of territory. They spoke in terms of men where we . . . tend to speak in terms of acres' or rather of square miles. The contrast here drawn is not only true, but fundamental, and its implications are a good deal deeper than Mr. Barker and other modern students of Plato appear to have realised. For if Plato's city is not a territorial unit, like a modern state, but a spiritual unit, resembling rather a college or a church, much of his teaching will be inapplicable, or applicable only after careful allowance has been made, to modern political conceptions and conditions. Neglect of this obvious fact has led to much confusion of thought. Two examples from Mr. Barker's volume must suffice. The word *law*, he points out (p. 39), implied to the Greeks an inherited moral

sanction, while to us it means merely 'a set of regulations.' True, but on p. 268, forgetful of the distinction, he tells us that 'Plato's insistence on the rule of law within a system of politically independent states entitles him to rank as a forerunner of international law.' Of international morality, of *Sittlichkeit*, yes; but of the Permanent Court of Justice at the Hague, a tribunal suspended *in vacuo* above states and peoples of varying outlook and moral standards—emphatically 'no.' Plato never fell into the current modern error of thinking that a moral relation between diverse groups, whether tribes or large states, can be brought into existence by the fiat of a few carefully-collected sages.

Our other example is from a very different field. It concerns the much disputed question of Plato's attitude towards art. Plato disbelieved, Mr. Barker tells us (p. 371), in 'a general taste,' and so he fell back, in his search for a controlling authority, on 'State regulation.' 'With many of his regulations we of this generation instinctively disagree,' adds Mr. Barker; and no wonder, for the idea of a modern territorial state or municipality attempting to hedge round the intellectual and artistic initiative of the very mixed body of persons within its jurisdiction is plainly repugnant to us.

But if we remember that Plato is thinking in terms, not of a state, or even of a municipality, but of a society with an inherited social and artistic tradition of its own, of a 'school' in the full meaning of that word, the case is altered.

In the *Republic*, in fact, the modern man finds not one but two distinct problems treated—the problem of government and the problem of what

for want of a better term we must call 'nationality.' States have no art; or, when they have one, it bears all the marks of the patron's order or the parasite's flattery. But nations, groups of individuals with a common racial and social inheritance and common memories and aspirations, can and do produce art, and, with art, a common standard of taste and appreciation. What would be frank absurdity in Dublin Castle and even in the Dublin Municipality might be quite feasible for the Abbey Theatre or the Gaelic League or even for the National University of Ireland. Similarly the idea of an American art controlled from Washington merely excites ridicule, but readers of Miss Jane Addams' and other books on the life and activities of the different immigrant nationalities will realise how strong and life-giving a power resides in the artistic tradition which they have brought with them and which is sustained and nourished by deliberate communal action. A 'bazaar of styles' is quite as demoralising as the 'bazaar of constitutions' which Plato denounces in democracy, and the experience of modern national groups, reaching out to the expression of their corporate consciousness in art and literature and other forms of spiritual achievement, and reacting against the influence of a disintegrating cosmopolitanism, throws valuable new light on some of the perplexities which have troubled Mr. Barker and others on this subject.

To develop this point would carry one far beyond the limits of a review, and an apology is perhaps needed for having allowed Mr. Barker's excellent book to serve as an opportunity for suggesting it.

A. E. ZIMMERN.

DREAMS IN GREEK POETRY.

The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy. By WILLIAM STUART MESSER, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1918. \$1.25 net and 5s. 6d. net.

THE Department of Classical Philology of Columbia University has approved this monograph as a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication. We are happy to agree, and we hope that Mr. Messer will be able to fulfil his promise of further contributions to his chosen subject. He was led to the study of the dreams in Greek literature by the discovery—which every serious student of Latin literature will make—that without Greek you cannot get far into Latin; for he first set out to investigate Roman dreams (see *Mnemosyne*, 45, 78-92). His present work is really introductory to a more general study of the ancient dream, especially as portrayed in Latin literature. It deals particularly with the dreams in Homer, Hesiod, and the Tragedians, (1) as a part of the machinery, a motive force in the development of action, narrative, plot, and (2) as artistic ends in themselves, more or less complete, more or less refined, more or less natural or artificial. The author has collected, for his own purposes, all dreams and references to dreams that he can find in Greek or Latin literature down to the second century A.D., and his footnotes give proof of his wide reading and of the intrinsic interest of his materials. His style is somewhat inelegant, and his arrangement unattractive. His method is to plough solemnly through the whole field, noting and discussing each dream as it appears. Accordingly there is too much repetition, and a bewildering abundance of cross-references. If only he had added a short chapter summarising his results, his work would have been more likely to be recognised for what it is—a very sound and useful piece of not particularly inspired research. That the author is no mere

compiler is shown by many touches of just literary appreciation. He is at his best in pointing out that Penelope's dream of geese and eagle (*Odyssey* XIX.) is unlike other dreams in Homer, an allegorical vision which demands interpretation, 'a new departure for the epic, and a model for the allegorical dreams of tragedy.' The second part, in which the eagle returns and announces himself as Odysseus, is in the manner of the older type, the objective dream which tells its own tale without any mystery; and this addition, Mr. Messer thinks, is an indication that the poet felt uneasy about the introduction of the new technique (pp. 33-4). Excellent, again, is the remark (p. 57) that 'the immediate source of the dream in tragedy is to be found *not in religion and cult*, but in the *literature*.' So is the discussion (p. 81 ff.) of the dream in Sophocles' *Electra*, where the old literary motif is adapted, not so much for its mechanical effect upon the plot as for its value as a means and an excuse for the portrayal of character. Finally, the description of the dream in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* as approximating to 'the highly-chiselled miniatures in which the Alexandrian period delights,' strikes me as just and illuminating. Where Mr. Messer sticks to the literature and his own commonsense, his work is sound and useful. Sometimes, unfortunately, he is led, like most of us, into the dangerous by-paths of cult-conjecture. On p. 4, for example, after a sound sane statement in the text that Hermes is *not* portrayed in Homer as a god of dreams, and that *ὄνειροπομπός* as his epithet is *not* ante-Alexandrian, we are dismayed to read in a footnote that 'From Hermes *ὄνειροπομπός* to Hermes *χθόνιος* . . . the step was short.' Similar mental pressure produced, I think, the strange juggling with the meaning of the plain word *κακόν* on p. 12. But why, in the footnote to p. 16, Mr. Messer suddenly exclaims, 'Add Granger . . .' etc., I cannot conjecture.

J. T. S.

A GOLD TREASURE OF THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD.

A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period. By WALTER DENNISON, Swarthmore College. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XII. Studies in East Christian and Roman Art, Part II.). One volume. 11" x 8". Pp. 87. Fifty-four plates and 57 text illustrations. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. \$2.50 net.

THIS study was completed by the author just before his death in March, 1917. An In Memoriam notice is appended to the volume.

The book is a description of thirty-six objects said to belong to a gold treasure found in Egypt. The word 'said' is used advisedly, for, though there is enough stylistic resemblance to connect together several of the pieces, the evidence relating to the discovery of the objects is extremely unsatisfactory. The pieces were brought at different times by Arabs to a 'well-known antiquary of Cairo.' They were purchased from him by four collectors, with the result that they are now scattered in Detroit, New York, the Antiquarium in Berlin, and the British Museum. Four of the objects—two necklaces and a pair of serpent bracelets—are stated to have been found at Alexandria. They are clearly of earlier date (second-third century after Christ) than the bulk of the objects which the author rightly assigns to the sixth century.

The volume consists mainly of a very detailed and accurate description of the objects which comprise striking but somewhat florid examples of the Oriental jeweller's art. Chief among them are two pectorals set with Imperial coins and medallions of the fifth and sixth centuries, to which were attached medallion pendants (in one case with designs depicting the Annunciation and the Miracle of Cana). There are other medallions in gold settings, necklaces with jewel pendants, a breast-chain with openwork medallions, bracelets with openwork decoration and jewels, and a rock-crystal statuette of a woman of no

high artistic merit. The coins in the pectorals range from Theodosius I. (379-395) to Mauricius Tiberius (582-602).

The ornaments were no doubt found in Egypt (Assiût in Upper Egypt and the site of the ancient Antinoë are each mentioned as provenance), but no reliance can be placed on the statements made as to the find-spot. There is indeed doubt as to whether all the objects (excluding those assigned to Alexandria) were found together. The conjecture that Alexandria was the original place of manufacture has some plausibility, but there is no reason to suppose that there would be any marked difference between the products of Egyptian and Syrian jewellers at the period to which these ornaments belong.

The objects, though primarily of interest to the student of 'Byzantine' jewellery, are also instructive for those who study ancient jewellery as a whole. There can be little doubt that the bulk of what is known as 'Roman' jewellery owes its form and decoration to Eastern jewellers, primarily those of Antioch and Alexandria and later those of Constantinople. The pure Greek tradition dies out, as far as can be seen, in the second and third centuries after Christ—that tradition which laid stress on the exquisite modelling of gold into human or animal form. Survivals of this Greek tradition are seen in the Rams' head necklace (Plate XXIX.) and the Serpent bracelets (Plate XLVII.) of the present publication, objects which are admittedly of different origin and of earlier date than the bulk of this treasure. The other and main portion of these ornaments illustrate the development in the 'Byzantine' period of features which can be traced back to the jewellery of the Hellenistic period. Alexander opened and Pompey reopened the Nearer East to the Graeco-Roman world. It was in the Hellenistic period that precious stones became a prominent element in jewellery, and from that period they grew in prominence till we arrive at overloaded ornaments such as the lunate bejewelled necklace

of openwork shown in Plate XXXV. The openwork, which is so conspicuous in the ornaments of this find, begins on a modest scale in the first and second centuries after Christ, and is then developed with increasing complication and arabesque effects. A find from Tunis of the third century (*B. M. Jewellery*, 2,824, 2,866-7) may be cited as marking an intermediate stage both in the use of precious stones and also of openwork.

The pectorals of the present find show the use of coins as elements in jewellery—an element foreign to Greek taste—carried to extremes. The coin as a feature of jewellery appears to have been introduced into 'Roman' ornaments under Oriental influence about the first century after Christ, when the belief in its prophylactic virtues not improbably assisted in popularising it. Incidentally it may be noted that the statement on p. 105 that coins of Caracalla are the earliest framed gold coins known is not quite accurate. The

British Museum possesses a gold necklace with a pendant in the form of an *aureus* of Domitian in a plain gold setting (*B. M. Jewellery*, 2,735: from Egypt).

The way in which this interesting find has been scattered abroad reflects no great credit upon the control of antiquities in Egypt. A satisfactory control is notoriously difficult. It may be suggested, however, that a partial remedy could be found in making all trade in antiquities in a country such as Egypt a State Monopoly. The success of such a remedy would of course depend on the readiness of the State to pay finders the fair market price of the antiquities discovered. It could recoup itself by selling such antiquities as it did not require or could not afford to retain.

The book is admirably illustrated by heliotype plates, half-tone blocks, and line drawings.

F. H. M.

XENOPHON, *HELLENICA* I. V.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I. V. Translated by CARLETON L. BROWNSON. Loeb Series.

THE *Hellenica* in the original makes for tedium, and no translation could, as a whole, be more than tolerable. A literal translation is frankly intolerable; and unfortunately it is a literal translation that Mr. Brownson is providing. Opening the volume at random, we light on the following passage near the beginning of the Third Book:

'And when she had become mistress of the province, she not only paid over the tributes no less faithfully than had her husband, but besides this, whenever she went to the Court of Pharnabazus she always carried him gifts, and whenever he came down to her province she received him with far more magnificence and courtesy than any of his other governors, and she not only kept securely for Pharnabazus the cities which he had received from her husband, but also gained possession of cities on

the coast which had not been subject to him—Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae—attacking their walls with a Greek mercenary force, while she herself looked on from a carriage; and when a man won her approval she would bestow bounteous gifts upon him, so that she equipped her mercenary force in the most splendid manner.'

Mr. Brownson might well ponder Chapman's rule: 'It is the part of every knowing and judicial interpreter not to follow the number and order of the words, but the material things themselves, and sentences to weigh diligently; and to clothe them with words, and such a style and form of oration as are most apt to the language into which they are concerted.' An English reader, knowing Xenophon only through Mr. Brownson's version, will surely wonder how Arrian or anyone else (cf. Lucian, *Quomodo hist. sit scribenda init.*) can have thought his prose worthy of imitation. The student who wants an accurate 'crib' to the

Hellenica will find it here; but those who look for something more must still go to Dakyns.

I think that Mr. Brownson would do better to follow Keller's text more faith-

fully. In disputed passages he sometimes returns to the readings of the MSS., and offers conventional renderings which the Greek words as printed cannot bear.

E. C. MARCHANT.

TWO TRAGEDIES OF SENECA.

L. Annaei Senecae *Thyestes*, *Phaëdra*. Recensuit, Praefatus Est, Appendicem Criticam Addidit Humbertus Moricca. Pp. i-xxvi, 1-122. Ex Officina Regia I. B. Paraviae et Soc.: Augustae Taur. 1917. Lire 2.50.

THE aim of the Paravia series, some volumes of which have already been noticed in the *Classical Review*, is to present Italy with a worthy collection of Latin texts revised by competent authorities, under the general editorship of Professor Pascal of the University of Pavia. An incidental aim is to free Italy from the need of having recourse to the foreigner (*ricorrere agli stranieri*), so that one perforce recalls the famous political motto in Italian history of the nineteenth century, '*Italia fara da se.*' It may be said at once that these handy volumes from Turin, each containing a scholarly introduction on the MSS., and a reasonably adequate, though not exhaustive, apparatus, are themselves destined to receive a welcome abroad.

The *Praefatio* to the *Thyestes* and *Phaëdra*, besides citing the *testimonia veterum* on the tragedies, and on Seneca as a dramatic writer, describes the classes of MSS. of the tragedies (of which a family-tree is given on p. xix), and summarises the textual principles of previous editors, as well as those of the present editor himself. His own attitude is more catholic and, in general, sounder and freer than Leo's. Signor Moricca agrees that the *Etruscus* (E) is the best authority, but when E is at fault he holds that the kindred MSS. M and N are to be consulted. Thinking more highly of the inferior A class than Leo does, Moricca has very sensibly recorded certain readings from A MSS. which both Leo and Richter have either omitted without good reason

or cited incorrectly. While, however, he thus does fuller justice to the A tradition, it is unfortunate that he has not broken with E far enough to accept such readings as *sericus somnus* for *certior somnus* in *Phaëdra* 520, and *rosae* for *comae*, *ib.* 769. I agree with the late Mr. C. E. Stuart's preference for these in C.Q., 1911, pp. 33-35. Similarly, in the reference to the river Tagus, *Thyest.* 355, I believe with him (C.Q. 1912, p. 20) that the MSS. *c* and *p* of the A class certainly remove an error from the usual text of the passage (which is missing in E), inasmuch as they agree with *τ* (=readings supported by Treveth's commentary) in giving *caro* . . . *alveo*, not *claro* . . . *alveo*.

Signor Moricca in his text again and again displays a fidelity to the MSS. which declines to follow the sometimes amusingly arbitrary deletions and transpositions of lines indulged in by Leo. Refusing, for instance, to pull about the text of *Phaëdra* 465-480 as Teutonic editors have done, he says wisely: '*Ego autem versus ordine tradito nulli rationi obstare persuasum mihi habui.*' He has the good sense also to eschew Leo's postponement of *et* . . . *furoris* from *Phaed.* 343 till after 348, which is due to Leo's ignorance of the fact that stags bellow in the rutting season, and his consequent objection to *mugitu* in 343. Nor is the editor caught by every blast of vain emendation: he records but does not accept unnecessary changes like Leo's *ex quibus utrimque* for *ex cuius ortu*, *Ph.* 890, and his *sedesque mutas* for *sedesque mutat*, *ib.* 508 — conjectures which suggest that, though Seneca may not have been a great poet, he was not guilty of all that foreign scholars have ascribed to him. How could *mutas* suit spots resonant with the songs of birds and rustlings of branches?

Printer's errors are few. I have

noticed *espressit*, p. xxii, l. 31; *puchrior*, p. 76 (*Ph.* 743); and *tumit* for *tumuit* in the Appendix Critica, p. 113, on *Ph.* 1,007. In *Ph.* 146, which reads *tantum esse facinus credis et vacuum metu*, the word *tantum* cannot be seriously pro-

posed, but must be a misprint for *tutum*, the accepted reading, which is not mentioned.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

Armstrong College,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS.

Cicero's Letters to Atticus. With an English Translation by E. O. WINSTEDT. Vol. III. Loeb Classical Library, Heinemann, 1918. 7s. 6d. net.

WITH this volume—the first dates from 1912—Mr. Winstedt completes the Loeb edition of the *Epistulae ad Atticum*. In arrangement, of course, the book conforms to the familiar scheme. The introduction deals with Cicero's latter days, his manuscripts, and the obligations of his translator, in as much detail as could be reasonably expected within the compass of five and a quarter foolscap octavo pages. The text, 'based as usual on Teubner,' is faced by the version and accompanied by a modest contingent of footnotes, rather a liberal proportion of which turn on the reduction of sesterces to guineas. Then comes a chronological table of the letters, also based on Teubner, together with an *index nominum*, of the sort, unfortunately, in which 'Iunius Brutus (M.), murderer of Caesar,' is followed by fifteen lines of Arabic numerals and by nothing more helpful.

To the professional scholar Mr. Winstedt does not offer much in this edition. Where there is obscurity he is diffident of all but reflected light, and his book contains neither a new conjecture nor a new interpretation; he has been content to give the amateur a sensible and conventional text explained by a sensible and conventional rendering. Some, indeed, of the conventions which are loyally observed might with advantage have gone by the board, though Mr. Winstedt is only one of a highly distinguished company of sinners. He still indulges in those anachronistic jocularities which, as a rule, neither give the meaning of Cicero's Latin—

or Greek—nor recapture its tone. 'Ἀδόλεσχος (XVI. 11) has to him the connotation of 'gas-bag.' Cicero elsewhere declines to 'kowtow.' At XII. 4, the playful *de Catone πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον est* gives place to 'about Cato, that would puzzle a Philadelphian lawyer'; although at XIII. 28, where Cicero harks back to the phrase and the Philadelphian is not so easily introduced, we descend to the plain and inexact prose of 'an insoluble problem,' which at all events avoids sullyng the page with the name of Archimedes. Apart, however, from the question of anachronism, Mr. Winstedt has, perhaps, a tendency to forget that some epistolographers are men of letters, that Cicero might be informal but could not be amorphous, and that, whatever the precise shades of his familiar style, he would scarcely write to Atticus in the schoolboy *argot* favoured by his translators as a refuge from the Chesterfield manner. This juvenility of diction—it is hard to call it anything else—is not so marked in Mr. Winstedt's last volume as in the other two, but it is still over-much to the fore. It is traceable in unlicked sentences such as 'I will write fuller and more about politics later, and do you write what you are doing and what is being done' (*plura et πολιτικώτερα postea, et tu quid agas et quid agatur*); in useless negligences such as 'let me know as soon as you know' (scribes *ad me cum scies*); and in idioms such as 'mess about' (*muginari*), 'go silly' (*τετυφῶσθαι*), 'act the giddy goat' (*κεκέπφωμαι*), 'is all bunkum' (*ἰοτὴν est σχεδιάσμα*), 'that's jolly good news about Buthrotum' (*bene mehercule de Buthroto*). Quest'è quel Marco Tullio?

In general, Mr. Winstedt is unduly cold to the airs and graces of Marcus Tullius, who has a habit of being airy

and graceful even to Atticus. In particular, he ignores quite obvious verbal repetitions or variations. At XII. 14, Cicero no doubt reflected a moment or two as he wrote: *Sed vere laudari ille vir non potest, nisi haec ornata sint, quod ille ea, quae nunc sunt, et futura viderit, et, ne fierent, contenderit, et facta ne videret, vitam reliquerit. Horum quid est quod Aledio probare possimus?* It was worth the while to save a little more from the wreck than survives in the paraphrase: 'But he is a man who cannot properly be eulogised, unless these points are fully treated, that he foresaw the present state of affairs, and tried to prevent it, and that he took his own life by preference to seeing it come about. Can I win Aledius' approval of any of that?' A couple of instances, perfectly trivial but typical in more ways than one of Mr. Winstedt's easy-going style, may be added. *Est bellum aliquem libenter odisse et, quem ad modum non omnibus dormire, ita non omnibus servire: etsi mehercule, ut tu intelligis, magis mihi isti serviunt, si observare servire est* (XII. 49 *fin.*) becomes: 'It is quite a good thing to have somebody to hate with a will, and not to pander to everybody any more than to be asleep for everybody: though upon my word, as you know, Caesar's party are obsequious to me more than I to them, if attention is obsequiousness.' The balance is redressed at XIII. 10, where Cicero writes: *Minime miror te et graviter ferre de Marcello et plura vereri periculi genera. Quis enim hoc timeret quod neque acciderat antea nec videbatur natura ferre ut accidere posset? Omnia igitur metuenda.* His translator dis-

dains the foible: 'I am not at all surprised at your being upset about Marcellus and fearing all sorts of new dangers. For who would have feared this? Such a thing never happened before and it did not seem as though nature could allow such things to happen. So one may fear anything.'

This indifference to the form extends at times to the content, though seldom with more serious results than to make the reader wonder why Mr. Winstedt is not satisfied to say simply what the Latin says—why, for instance, he should turn *ubi Brutum nostrum et quo die videre possim* into 'where Brutus is and when I can see him'; or *sed nulla iustior quam quod tu idem aliis litteris* into 'but none of them is better than one you mention in your letter'; or, a worse example, *tu de Antiocho scire poteris videlicet etiam quo anno quaestor aut tribunus mil. fuerit; si neutrum, saltem in praefectis an in contubernalibus fuerit, modo fuerit in eo bello* into 'You will be able to find out from Antiochus of course in what year he was quaestor or military tribune: if he was neither, then he would at least have been among the prefects or on the staff, provided he was in the war at all.' Unconsidered trifles of this sort, and there are too many of them, are a little apt to divert attention from the merits of the translation as a whole. Those merits are solid and unquestionable, and Mr. Winstedt deserves thanks for an edition which is a convenience to any reader and something like a necessity to those making their first acquaintance with the letters.

J. JACKSON.

SHORT NOTICES

The Old Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection. Part II.: *The Washington MS. of the Psalms.* Edited by HENRY A. SANDERS. 4to. Pp. 107+249, with 6 facsimile plates. New York: The Macmillan Company. Paper covers, \$2.00 net.

THE story of the discovery and subsequent purchase from an Arab dealer

near Cairo by Mr. Freer, in 1906, of this fifth-century MS., together with other Biblical portions, has been already told. The two parts forming the Psalms are now respectively designated Λ and Λ^a . They were found, as evidenced by the excellent facsimiles illustrating the volume, in a sadly decayed state, and have been skilfully restored by a process described at length.

Among other points of interest it may be noted that while the ink used throughout is dark brown, the oft-recurring Septuagint word *διαψαλμα*, which appears on the right hand margin, is, together with its abbreviations (also titles and numbers), in *red*, as becomes a rubrical direction. It occurs with some irregularity, possibly owing in large part to damaged leaves. It alternates with a kind of symbol which may perchance point to some lost system of the Hebrew '*Selah*,' which might be worth following up. That *διαψαλμα* (a word of uncertain meaning) should have been accepted as the equivalent of the even more dubious term '*Selah*' has never been explained. It seems likely that the LXX translators viewed the term '*Selah*' as conveying the idea of meditative pause, and that the Christian Church so used it. The MS. has characteristics peculiarly its own. There is a singular plan in the division and arrangement of syllables and words, and some of the large square uncials in use are set off by dots and strokes of varying shape. There are numerous liturgical abbreviations. Mr. Sanders offers no explanation of the series of dots and strokes, but the fact that the dots are generally found at the ends of lines, lend colour to the idea that suggests itself to our mind of some particular form of cadence. Many peculiarities occurring in Egyptian papyri are present in this MS. There is wellnigh a total absence of punctuation and accentuation. This irregularity in respect of later Greek MSS. from Egypt is worth attention. In a series of liturgical texts from Upper Egypt (now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York), Scripture quotations alone have accents, and these defy all ordinary laws. This feature may perhaps be explained on the theory that the Holy Scriptures were to be read (or intoned) after a customary manner. This fine reprint of the Greek text has the *lacunae* supplied from the Swete text with which the MS. is collated, accents and breathings being omitted, as in the original. As a Psalter text A is now the oldest representative, and this edition is in every way worthy of such distinction.

The New Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection. Part II.: *The Washington MS. of the Epistles of St. Paul.* Edited by HENRY A. SANDERS. 4to. Pp. 251+315, with 3 facsimile plates. New York: The Macmillan Company. Paper covers, \$1.25 net.

THE MS. fragment here described is of sixth-century date, written in Egypt by an expert scribe, and has much in common with other MSS. of this series. That a parchment MS., in such a woeful state of decay as that described, could have been brought to so serviceable a use seems wellnigh incredible. The text falls in well with the Alexandrian group of N.T. MSS., with important variations that lend weight to it. The Westcott and Hort text is generally used to supply missing portions, and variations are given by way of collation. The Epistle to the Romans and last part of 1 Corinthians are wanting.

Translations of Christian Literature. Series I. Greek Texts: *St. Dionysius of Alexandria.* Letters and Treatises by C. L. FELTOE, D.D. Pp. 110. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net.

SOME years since Dr. Feltoe edited the letters and other remains of Dionysius in a volume of the Cambridge Patristic Texts, an esteemed work. The Introduction and much other illustrative matter is reproduced in a greatly condensed form in the present volume. In the writings of Dionysius, which are largely concerned with the controversies of the age, there is ample evidence of the purity of his style and literary attainments. The three treatises, if they can be so called, are fragmentary.

THE VALUE OF THE CLASSICS.

Value of the Classics. Edited by A. F. WEST. Demy 8vo. Pp. viii+396. Princeton University Press, 1917.

A CONFERENCE on classical studies was held at Princeton University in June, 1917. The volume before us contains the addresses which were delivered there, followed by statements affirming the value of classical training. These

statements were made by the leading representatives of every side of American life. President Wilson, ex-President Roosevelt, and Mr. Lansing are in the vanguard of an army of experts to whom the general world will perhaps pay more attention because the striking statistics at the end of the book show that in American secondary schools the number of pupils who take Latin is continually advancing. Greek, however, occupies an insignificant place.

The impression left by reading this valuable summary of opinion is not only that, in practice, Latin and Greek develop the powers of expression and thereby of clear thinking, but that the attempt to revive before the mind the outlines of antique culture generally, strengthens in a unique manner that constructive imagination of which we are in such pressing need. The classics along with pure mathematics offer, to two different types of intelligence, alternative and indispensable disciplines. It is probable that the leadership in the intellectual world will remain with those peoples who refresh themselves at these ultimate springs. Unfortunately in England whereas physical science, as well as mathematics, is compulsory in our new secondary schools, Latin is falling more and more into the background and Greek is disappearing.

It is worth considering whether—to repeat a suggestion of Matthew Arnold—the Latin Vulgate might not be used

as an introduction to Latin studies. The Vulgate reaches back to the living language of the early Empire and forward to the languages of modern Europe. It is nearer also than Ciceronian Latin to the international language of the middle ages.

FRANK GRANGER.

The Letter of Aristeas, with an Appendix of Ancient Evidence on the Origin of the LXX. By H. ST. J. THACKERAY. Pp. 116. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d. net.

THE most ancient account of the Septuagint is that derived from this letter by Aristeas, who asserts that he was an officer in the service of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.). The story of the LXX. translation is open to the gravest suspicion, and the letter abounds with improbabilities and is now generally regarded as more or less fabulous. Its date may be assumed to be 170-130 B.C. It was used by Josephus and probably known to Philo. The leading facts of the history of this version have, however, been widely received by early authorities of note. Dr. Hody (*Aristeæ Hist.* Oxon. 1705) fully exposed the inconsistencies and anachronisms of the author. It clearly belongs to the class of Graeco-Jewish writings promoted to give effect to religious susceptibilities. These several publications, which are under the joint editorship of Dr. Oesterley and Canon Box, are highly commendable.

NOTES AND NEWS

GREEK MUSIC.

AN ordinary meeting of the Northumberland and Durham Classical Association was held in St. John's College, Durham, on Saturday, May 24, when a paper was read by Mr. J. F. Mountford, M.A., Lecturer in Classics, Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the subject of 'Greek Music: Methods of Study and Results.' A few illustrations on the piano were greatly appreciated. After questions and discussion, in which Professor Cruickshank, the Rev. C. G. Hall, Mr. Gilbert

Richardson, and Miss C. M. Shipley took part, Professor J. Wight Duff proposed, and the Rev. Dr. Dawson Walker seconded, a motion of hearty congratulation to Mr. Mountford on the recent award to him, for his researches on Greek music, of the Cromer Greek Prize administered by the British Academy.

The Society for the Reform of Latin Teaching, which has been in abeyance during the war, will hold its fourth summer school at Oxford, September 1-10. The secretary is Mr. N. Parry, 4, Church Street, Durham. Two

of its most active members, Captain J. L. Mainwaring and Captain Paine, have died for their country.

THE May number of the *Geographical Journal* contains a remarkable paper by Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Beazley on Air Photography in Archaeology. The air-picture of the district round Samarra

disclosed the plan of an ancient city, with wide streets, public gardens, and all sorts of details. The detail was not recognisable on the ground. By the same means was disclosed the plan of the ancient irrigation system of the country, with detached forts to protect it. The paper and its accompanying plates deserve attention.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

. *Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

Carra de Vaux (B.) Notes d'Histoire des Sciences. 9" x 5½". Pp. 16. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. Sur l'Origine des Chiffres (Extrait de 'Scientia,' pp. 273-282). 9½" x 6½". Tableau des Racines Sémitiques (arabe-hébreu). 11" x 8¼". Pp. 36. Paris: Rue La Trémoille, 1919.

Classical Studies in Honour of Charles Foster Smith. By his Colleagues. 9½" x 6". Pp. 192. University of Wisconsin: Studies in Language and Literature, No. 3. Madison, 1919. \$1.

Dunby (H.) Tractate Sanhedrin, Mishnah and Tosefta (Translations of Early Documents). 7½" x 4¾". Pp. 148. London: S.P.C.K., 1919. Cloth, 6s. net.

Farnell (L. R.) The Value and the Methods of Mythologic Study. 9¾" x 6¼". Pp. 16. Oxford University Press, 1919. 1s. 6d. net.

Foucart (M. P.) Le Culte des Héros chez les Grecs. 11" x 9". Pp. iv + 166. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1918. Fr. 6.20.

Harris (R.) The Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. 42. Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults. 10" x 6¼". Pp. 50. Manchester: University Press, 1919. Paper boards, 2s. 6d. net.

Hearnshaw (J. C.) Select Extracts from Chronicles and Records relating to English Towns in the Middle Ages (Texts for Students, No. 8). London: S.P.C.K., 1919. 9d. net.

Hellenism in Turkey. Published by the London Committee of Unredeemed Greeks. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. 22. London: Hesperia Press, 1919.

Herford (M. A. B.) A Handbook of Greek Vase Painting. 10¼" x 6¼". Pp. xxii + 125. Manchester: University Press, 1919. Cloth, 9s. 6d. net.

Hoppin (J. C.) A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases. Vol. I. 9¼" x 6". Pp. xxiv + 472. Oxford University Press (for Harvard University Press), 1918. Cloth, 35s. net.

Horn (Fredrik). Zur Geschichte der absoluten Partizipialkonstruktionen im Lateinischen. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. viii + 106. Lund: Greerupsche Universitätsbuchhandlung.

Jastrow (M., jun.) A Gentle Cynic: Being the Book of Ecclesiastes. 8¾" x 6¼". Pp. 254. London: J. B. Lippincott, 1919. Cloth, 9s. net.

Kutrzeba (S.) The Rights of Russia to Lithuania and White Ruthenia. 9" x 6". Pp. 12. Paris: M. Flinikowski, 1919.

Laurand (L.) Manuel des Etudes grecques et latines. Fasc. II.: Littérature grecque. 2^e édition. 9" x 5¾". Pp. 99 + 260 + xvi. Paris: A. Picard, 1919. Fr. 3.50.

Lutoslawski (W.) and Romer (E.) The Ruthenian Question in Galicia. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. 32. Paris: Imprimerie Levé, 1919.

Lutoslawski (W.) Bolshevism and Poland. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. 38. Paris: M. Flinikowski, 1919.

McClure (M. L.) and Feltoe (C. L.) The Pilgrimage of Etheria (Translations of Christian Literature, Series III.). 7½" x 4¾". Pp. xlviii + 103. London: S.P.C.K., 1919. Cloth, 6s. net.

Robin (L.) Etudes sur la Signification et sur la Place de la Physique dans la Philosophie du Platon. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. 96. Paris: F. Alcan, 1919. Fr. 4.40.

Slipper (E.) Eene Eigenaardigheid van Tacitus Zinsbouw. 8½" x 6". Pp. 60. Kemink and Zoon, over den dom te Utrecht, 1918.

Stampini (E.) Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, Anno XLVII. Fascicolo 20. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. 161 + 320. Torino: G. Chiantore, 1919. L. 5.

Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. 1914, 9½" x 6¼", vol. xlv., pp. 254 + cii; 1915, xlv., pp. 248 + lxxxii; 1916, xlvii., pp. 234 + xciv; 1917, xlviii., pp. 152 + liv. Boston: Ginn and Co. \$2 each.

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1919

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE NEW LYRIC FRAGMENTS—III.

THE following paper contains some further attempts to restore the new Oxyrhynchus fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus, together with some corrections of the suggestions published in this *Review* in the May of 1914.¹ The restorations are made, where this is possible, by the tracing method explained in previous articles, and all the doubtful letters involved both in these and my earlier suggestions have now been examined in the actual papyri and discussed with Professor Hunt. I take this opportunity of thanking him, not only for allowing me to inspect the papyri in his rooms, but for bearing with my interruptions for three whole days.

I take the fragments in the order in which they appear in Vols. X. and XI. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

SAPPHO 1231. I. i. 13-34. The Anactoria fragment :²

In l. 6 (18 Hunt) the traces would seem to admit of no alternative to *περσκόπεισα*, unless we presume a second-aorist form *περσκέποισα*, which would perhaps improve the syntax, but which without a parallel I should hesitate to print. Two lines below, *κρίν[υ]ε κάλ[ιστον]*, involving of course the change of *κάλλιστον* above to *κάλιστον*, would be more suitable than *κρίννευ ἄριστον* to the meaning of the poem as a whole. I offer a new solution of the problem of the all-important lines 15 and 16. On inspection of the actual papyrus I see that *οὐδὲ* is impossible, and that probably no part of the *ν* of my *τὺ* is visible; but, on the other hand, I feel no doubt that the scribe

wrote *παρεοίσας* and not *ἀπεοίσας*. What we want here is the application of the general remark introduced by γὰρ two lines above, which itself arose out of the instance of Helen which preceded it. Dr. Hunt's *τῆλε νῦν* involves among other difficulties the lack both of a connecting particle and of a personal pronoun. Read :

[ἄμ]με νῦν <F>ανακτορί[α, τὺ] μέμναι-
[σ' οὐ] παρεοίσα<ι>ς,

'And so mind that you, Anactoria (now that you have gone off to Lydia with your soldier-husband ?), remember us (Sappho and Atthis ?) when we are not with you.' I take it that, owing partly to the unusual accusative with *μέμναισο*, and partly to the omission of an apostrophe, *σ' οὐ παρεοίσεις* became *σου παρεοίσας* — unless indeed *παρεοίσας* may be regarded as a mere Atticisation of *παρεοοίσεις*. The mention of Lydia suggests a connexion with the beautiful Berlin fragment¹ about the girl who has gone to far-off Sardis, and doubtless often thinks of her life with Sappho and Atthis, 'when you were like a glorious Goddess to her and she loved your song the best. And now she shines among the dames of Lydia as, after the Sun has set, the rosy-fingered Moon beside the stars that are about her,' etc. And I would now substitute Anactoria for Mnasicida at the beginning of that poem thus :

[Ἀθθί, σοὶ κἄμ' Ἀνακτορία φίλα]
[πηλόροισ' ἐνὶ] Σάρδε[σιν]
[ναίει] κτλ.,

and would suggest that in *ἀελῶ δύντος* Sappho hints that if she compares her beloved Anactoria to the Moon, she

¹ See also *Class. Rev.*, June, 1916.

² See *Class. Rev.*, May and June, 1914.

¹ See *Class. Rev.* June, 1909, and August, 1916.

might compare her still more beloved Atthis to the Sun. Now that the Sun has set—that is, now that she and Atthis are no longer together—Anactoria's beauty has full play. The reason for the elaboration of the simile thus becomes clearer, and the whole poem is seen to be in effect a delicate piece of lover's flattery. But returning to the new ode, let me add that in the last stanza we should read *ὃν ἀνθρώποις* (Pap. *ἄνανθρωποις*), literally 'throughout mankind,' comparing for this use of *ἀνὰ* *Od.* 14. 286.

1231. 10 :

This is the fragment which contains the new word *δόλοφυν*. I have taken this with Professor Hunt as a by-form of *δελφύς*; cf. *φέρενα* for *φερνή*, *E.M.* 790. 42. It is apparently nominative, cf. *κίνδυν* fr. 161 and *Φόρκυν*.

[αἱ δέ μοι γάλακτο]ς ἐπάβολ' ἦσ[κε]
[τῷθ' αὖτ' ἢ παίδω]ν δόλοφυν ποήσ[ει]
[ἀρμένα, τότε] οὐ[κ] τρομέροις πρ[ὸς] ἄλλα
[λέκτρα κε πόσσι]

5 [ἤρχομαν· νῦν δὲ] χροά γῆρας ἤδη
[μυρίαν ἄμμον ρύτι]ν ἀμφιβάσκει,
[κῶν πρὸς ἄμμ' Ἔρο]ς πέταται διώκων
[ἀλγεσίδωρος.]

'If my paps could still give suck and my womb were able to bear children, then would I come to another marriage-bed with unfaltering feet; but nay, age now maketh a thousand wrinkles to go upon my flesh, and Love is in no haste to fly to me with his gift of pain.' In l. 6 *ἔμον βρύτιν* (cf. *βρύτιδες* *E.M.* 214. 32) would fit, but I cannot restore l. 7 satisfactorily with *με*.

The epithet *ἀλγεσίδωρος* I have placed here from Maximus Tyrius 24. 9 (Sa. 125), where he is comparing Sappho with Socrates: 'Diotima (in the *Symposium*) says that Love flourishes when he has plenty, and dies when he comes to want. Sappho, putting these characteristics together, called him *γλυκύ-πικρος* and *ἀλγεσίδωρος*.' But I am by no means satisfied that it really belongs here.

1231. 16. 2-4 :

These lines are identified by von Wilamowitz with fr. 12; but apart

from the rather excessive length involved by this identification for the gap in l. 3 (see Hunt *ad loc.*), the supposed cretic *δ]ττινα[ς*, if we may judge the length of the preceding gap by l. 12, must, I think, belong to an earlier part of the Sapphic line and scan as a dactyl.

1231. 56 :

The last two stanzas of Sappho's First Book I restore very tentatively; for as the gaps are on the right, the suggestions have not to be of equal written length. The poem, as Professor Hunt saw, is an epithalamium. The words *φιλότατα καὶ* are due to Professor von Wilamowitz. In l. 7 *ῥσσον . . . ῥσσον* is equivalent to *τόσσον . . . ῥσσον*, as in Theocr. 4. 39 *ῥσον αἰγες ἐμὴν φίλαι ῥσσον ἀπέσβης*. The construction is probably a survival from the time when the distinction between relative and demonstrative had not been fully worked out; cf. such constructions as *ὅτε μὲν . . . ὅτε δέ*.

ἵαρθένου δ[ὲ] ταῖσδεσι πρὸς θύραισι]
παννυχίσδομ[εν, πολυόλβε γάμβρε,]
σὰν αἰδοῖσαι φιλότατα καὶ νύμ-]

5 φας ἰοκόλπω.

ἀλλ' ἐγέρθε[ις εἴτ' ἐπίησιν αὖτως]
στείχε, σοὶς [δ' ἄγοι πόδας αὐτοῦ
Ἔρμας]
ἦπερ ῥσσον ἄ[μμορος ἔσσε' ῥσσον]
ὑπνον ἰδῶμε[ν.]

' . . . And we maidens spend all the night at the door singing of the love that is between thee, thrice-happy bridegroom, and a bride whose breast is sweet as violets. But get thee up and go when the dawn shall come, and may great Hermes lead thy feet where thou shalt find just so much ill-luck as we shall see sleep to-night.' The playful conceit in the last line has its parallel in the latter part of the fragment of Sappho preserved in Julian *Ἐρρ.* 59—on the return of the beloved (Atthis?)—where I restore:

. χαῖρ' ἄμμ, χαῖρε
πόλλα καὶ *Ἰσιδρήθμα* τόσφ χρόνῳ
ἀλλάλαν ἀπελείφθημεν - υ - .

'Bless you, I say, thrice bless you, and for just so long as you and I have

been parted.' The present fragment is of peculiar interest, not only as a choral poem in the Sapphic metre, with which we may compare Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, but as supporting, by its position among poems on various subjects in Book I., the view that there were two editions of Sappho's works current in antiquity, one arranged according to metre and the other according to subject; for we know that in the edition used by Servius the Epithalamia formed a book to themselves. It is worth noting here that Hephaestion, 138, speaks of two editions of Alcaeus, one that of Aristophanes, and the other that of Aristarchus.

1232. 1. i. 8:

Perhaps, with the short-*o* aorist subjunctive exemplified in *χαλάσσομεν*, Alc. Ox. *Par.* 1234. 2. i. 10, we might read:

.] ἀλλ' ἄγιτ', ὦ φίλαι,
[ἀοίδας ἀπυλῆζομεν] ἄγχι γὰρ ἡμέρα.

'But come, dear maidens, let us end our song; for day is nigh at hand.' This may be an ἐπιθαλάμιος διεγερτικός, cf. Schol. Theocr. 18.

1232. 1. ii. 2. *The Marriage of Hector and Andromache*:

Perhaps

κάρυξ ἡλθ[ε] θό[ων δυνάμει] ἐλέ[ων] ἔθεις
Ἰδαίῃς τάδε κ[ἀ]λα φ[όρ]εις τάχους ἄγγελος,

'... came a herald sped by the might of his swift legs, bringing in haste to the people of Ida these fair tidings.' The papyrus would probably have *δυνάμει*.

Ibid. 9:

There seems hardly room for *κάλα*, nor do the traces quite suit it. Read:

λία τ' αὖ τ[ρό]να,

'and smooth embroideries,' comparing, for this form of *λεία*, *χρύσια* for *χρύσεια* or *χρύσεια* in the line above.

Ibid. 12:

Φίλοις is almost certainly wrong. Read:

φάμα δ' ἦλθε κατὰ πτόλιν εὐρύχορον
Ἰλῶ,

'And the news went forth through the spacious city of Ilus.' I suppose the true Aeolic form to have been *Ἰλλος*, with the single-consonant by-form *Ἰλλος*. Cf. e.g. ὄρρανος and ὄρανος, and *δισχελίοις* 1234. 1. 8 beside *χέλλιοι* E.M. 817. 1 and *χέλληστος* Inscr.

Ibid. 17-20:

I would suggest, retaining my earlier suggestion in l. 18:

ἵππ[οις] δ' ἄνδρες ὑπᾶγον ὑπ' ἄρματα,
σύν δ' ἴσαν]
π[άντ]ες αἰθεοί· μεγάλωστι δ' ἴεν μέγας]
δ[ᾶμος], κᾶνίοχδι φ[αλάρ]οις]· [κεκαδ-
μέναις]
π[ώλοισι] ἐ[ξ]ᾶγον[ν]

'... And the men did harness horses to the chariots, and the young men went with them one and all; till a mighty people moved mightily along, and the drivers drove their boss-bedizened steeds out of [the city]'—to bring Hector and Andromache from the place where they had landed.

1232. 2. 1-3. (Continuation of the same poem):

Perhaps

[ὅτα δηῦτ' ὀχέων ἐπέβαν ἵ]κελοι θέοις]
[Ἐκτωρ Ἀνδρομάχα τε, σύν]αγνον
ἀδλ[ῆες]
[Τρῶες Τρωαδές τ' ἐράτεν]νον ἐς Ἴλιον.]

'Then, when the godlike Hector and Andromache were mounted in the chariots, the men of Troy and the women of Troy accompanied them in one great throng into lovely Ilium.' With *σύναγνον* compare Hesych. *ἀγνείν*· ἀγειν Κρήτες and ἀναγνῶν Lasus 1 (see Bergk *ad loc.*). *σύναγνον* would be for *σύναγνιον* representing *συνάγνεον*, cf. *χρυσότερα* for *χρυσεότερα* fr. 123. Ἴλιος is called *ἐρατεινὴ* in *Il.* 5. 210.

ALCAEUS 1233. 2. ii. 2:

For *παῖσι* Φρύγεσσιν I would now suggest *παῖσι* Τρόεσσιν, and for *Φρύγες* τε in l. 15 *Τρόες* τε. The identification of the Trojans with the Phrygians apparently belongs to a later time. For the short *o* cf. *Τροία* and *Τροία* beside *Τρῳά* and *Τρῳαία*.

1233. 33. 5-7:

The metre points to these being the first lines of a poem, which I should be inclined to identify with Bergk's fr. 60. I restore them thus *exempli gratia*:

Ἔπετον Κυπρογενήα]ς παλῆιμ[αῖσιν
[δολομήδεσσι τύπεις·] ὅπποσέ κ[εν γὰρ]
[ἄλος ἢ γὰς προφύγω, κῆσ]ε πόλω[ν με]
[κίχεν Ὠρος

'I am thrown by the wily arts of the Cyprus-born; for whithersoever on sea or land I flee, thither ranging hath Love overtaken me. . . .'

Alcaeus probably wrote πόλεις.

1234. 1:

This fragment, after being published in Vol. X., was reprinted in Vol. XI. with an addition comprising the beginnings of several lines. Those who in restoring papyrus fragments rely on estimates of the number of letters missing, should take warning from the fact that the estimates for a short gap of at the most seven letters have proved to be too great or too small in three cases out of five. The fragment includes the end of one poem and the beginning of another, both addressed to Zeus. Adopting Professor Hunt's *ἐκάβολον*, *μῖσος*, and *στάτηρας*, I suggest the following restoration of ll. 2-8 and 12-15, that of ll. 2 and 15 being *exempli gratia*:

(a)
[οὐκὶ προ]ταίρει,
π[όη <F>εκ]ἄβολον, πάτερ, ἀπ[λύν-
νῃν τε]
κ[αρδία]ν κήνω, πάτερ, ἀ[λλὰ πάντας]
5 το[ῖς κεν] ὠναίσχυντος ἐπ[ιπινέσει]
μ[ῖ]σος ἀλιτρον.

'[As for him who] doth not take up (?) . . ., make thou far-darting, Father, and unerring the mind of him, Father; but all such as are inspired by the shameless one, them do thou make a sinful thing of hate.'

(b) Ζεῦ πάτερ, Λῦδοι μὲν ἐπ' ἀ[λλοτέρ-
ραις]
συμφοραῖσι δισχελίοις στά[τηρας]

9 ἄμμ' ἔδωκαν . . .

12 . . . ὅδ' ὡς ἀλώπαξ
ποικιλόφρων εὐμάρεα προλέξαις
ἤλπετο λίσσιν

15 [μὴ 'κτελέσσαις τοῖσι Φέοις πολίταις.]
'Father Zeus, while the Lydians, in other men's time of misfortune, gave us two thousand staters . . ., this man, like a cunning-hearted fox, made fair promises to his own fellow-citizens and then reckoned he would escape scot-free if he failed to perform them.' For *ἄλλοτέραις* cf. Hdn. II. 303. 23. In l. 15 the papyrus would probably have *τοισινεοῖς*.

1234. 4. 6-12:

[οὐδ' αὖ σφρί]γαις ἃ πᾶν [τέ]κνον
[ἀκλέων]
[σφρίγαι τοκ]ήνων ἐς φαίγκροις [δόμοις]
[στρώφασθ'] ἔδαπτε σ' ἐν [δ]
[ἀσ]μ[οῖς]
[ὦν ἐτι <F>οί]κεος ἦσκ' ὄνεκτον.

10 [ἀλλ' ὡς] π<ρ>οτ' ὕβριν καὶ μεγά-
θε[ι] π[όθ]ε[ις]
[δραίη] τά τ' ἄνδρες δρᾶσιν ἀτάσ-
θαλοι,
[τούτω]ν κεν ἦσκ' ὄνεκτον [οὐ]δε[ν·]
[νῦν δ' ὅ]τα πόλλακις κτλ.

' . . . Nor yet did he harm thee [the city] in that he itched, as every child of unfamed parents itches, to go in and out of garish houses; for being still at home among the obscure, he was bearable as yet. But when he did the deeds of wicked men in wanton presumption and drunken with power, there was no bearing such things as those. And now that,' etc. I retain *φαίγκροις* in l. 7 with some hesitation, as the letter-traces after φ are very doubtful. In l. 8 δ' is practically certain. What looked like part of the loop of ρ is the apostrophe, and δ exactly fits the gap. I translate 'for,' though it is really the idiomatic 'but' after a negative sentence. For ὦν in l. 9 Alcaeus probably wrote *εις*. For *πόθεις* 'drunk' I have no exact parallel, and the letters *εις* are very uncertain. But parallels from Latin and other languages make it a reasonable extension of the use of the passive past participle of the verb 'to drink.' In l. 14 the papyrus must, I

think, have had *ονορθώθημεν*, not *ονωρθώθημεν*, and in l. 15 *μέμεικται* rather than *μέμικται*.

1234. 6. 7-13:

[*κᾶγω μὲν οὐ μέμναιμ' ἔτι γὰρ παῖς*
[*τρόφῳ π' ἰγόνν' φ' σμῖκος ἐπίσδανον*
[*πάτρος δ' ἀκούω*]ν οἶδα τίμ[α]ν
10 [τὰν ἔλαβεν παρὰ] Πειθίλῃος

[*κῆνος πάροιθα*] νῦν δ' ὁ πεδέτρ[οπε]
[*τυραννέοντα τὸ*]ν *κακοπατρίδα*
[*Μελαγχρο*<ο>ν <κ>*αὔτος τ*]υράν-
νευ-

[*ων ἔλαθ' ἄμμετέρας πόλῃος*]

'And as for me I remember it not; for I was still a little child sitting on his nurse's knee; but I know from my father the honour you man received of yore from the son of Penthilus. And now he that overturned the despotism of the traitor Melanchrus is himself, ere we knew it, become despot of our city.' The son of Penthilus is Dracon, whose sister became the wife of Pittacus. In l. 12 *τυραννέοντα* represents *τυραννέ-
Fοντα*. In l. 13 I have to presume the loss of the two bracketed letters. In extenuation it may be pointed out that the *ον* of *μελαγχρον* would come immediately beneath the *ον* of *τυραννεοντα*, and the *κ* before *αὔτος* is not necessary to the sense.

1360. 1. 9-13:

Οὐ πάντ' ἦς ἀπ[άτηλος υ υ - υ =]
οὐδ' ἀσύννετος, ἄμμεσσι δ' ἄ[πομ-
μόσαις]

βῶμφ Λατοῖδα τοῦτ' ἐφυλίξα[ο]
μή τις τῶν κακοπατρίδαν

5 εἴσεται φανέρα τοῖσιν ἀπ' ἀρχαῶ[
· · · · ·

'You were not altogether a knave . . . ,
. . . , nor yet a fool, but kept the oath
you swore to us by the altar of the Son
of Leto that none of the Children of
Treason should know truly who it was
to whom in the beginning . . . ' As
these are the opening lines of a poem,
l. 1 probably contained a name in the
vocative; one would also expect there
something to express the time to which
ἦς applies, e.g. *ποτά οἱ πέρυσιν*. In l. 2
the papyrus has *αμμοισι*, but as some-
thing meaning 'having sworn' is prac-
tically inevitable in the gap, there will

be nothing for it to agree with, and if
it is to mean 'our party' τοῖς is surely
necessary. If Alcaeus could say *ἄμμεσι*,
he could also, I think, have said *ἄμ-
μεσσι*. For the ictus-lengthening of
the second syllable of *ἀπομόσας* cf. e.g.
δυνάρινε 1234. 2. ii. 8. The dative
βῶμφ (Pap. βωμω), 'by the altar,' is a
rare but not unparalleled use with
δμνυμι; it might, however, be regarded
as a locative, 'at the altar.' In l. 4
κακοπατρίδαν is apparently a mock-
patronymic, probably a substitution for
Ἀτρεΐδαν, that is, descendants of the
founders of Lesbos, the clan to which
Pittacus' wife belonged. In l. 5 *φανέρα*
seems to be used as an adverb like
λάθρα. The fragment gives the earliest
example of one of the Horatian Ascle-
piad metres.

1360. 2:

This fragment could be reconstructed
with tolerable certainty from the scholia
if these were entirely legible. Unfor-
tunately there is some doubt about the
phrase *νεκρῶν ἱεροὶ μύσται*, so that the
words between the brackets must be
taken with a rather larger grain than
usual. It should be noted, however,
that ll. 1-4 and l. 6 when traced out
correspond in written length to l. 5,
which is restored with considerable cer-
tainty, while l. 8, though, along with
l. 7, it must have begun the next
column, can be taken unchanged from
the paraphrase. The scholia are as
follows: on l. 4—*ὑμεῖς δὲ σιγᾶτε ὥσπερ*
νεκρῶν [ἱεροὶ μύσται [οὐ]δὲν δυνάμενοι
ἀντιστῆναι τῷ τυράν[νῳ], on l. 5—*ἀλλ',*
ὦ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἕως ἔτι καπνὸν μόνον
ἀφίησι τὸ ξύλον, τοῦτ' (ἔστιν) ἕως οὐδέπω
τυρανν[εῦει], κατὰσβητε καὶ καταπαύ-
σατε ταχέως μὴ λα[μπρό]τερον τὸ φῶς
γέννηται. I restore the text thus:

[.] ὁ δὲ πλύτν
[*ὑμῖς ὑπερστείχων*] κεφάλαις μάτει,
[*ὑμῖς δὲ σίγατ' ὥτε μύσται*]
[τὸν κάλεσαν νέκυν εἰσίδο]ντες.

5 [ἀλλ', ὦ πόλιται, θᾶς ἔτι τ]ὸ ξύλον
[*κάπνον παρ' ὑμῖσιν*] προῖει μόνον,
[*κασβέσσαι ὥς τάχιστα, μὴ πα*]
[*λαμπρότερον τὸ φῶς γέννηται*.]

' . . . But he goes striding wide over
your heads, and you hold your tongues
like initiates when they behold the dead

they have called up. Nay rather, my fellow-countrymen, up and quench the log while it but smoulders among you, lest the light thereof come to a brighter flame.' The papyrus has a point before μάτει, indicating that it does not go closely with κεφάλαις. This restoration of l. 3 just fills the gap, but the line might, of course, have been shorter. In

l. 4 Alcaeus perhaps wrote εσφιδοντες. The form θās for τέως in the sense of ἔως I take from 1234. 2. i. 8, where, however, one would perhaps have expected τās. For ὕμμεσιν cf. fr. 100, and for ὡς τάχιστα the Berlin Fragment (*Class. Rev.* 1917, p. 10).

J. M. EDMONDS.

Jesus College, Cambridge.

THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

XIII.

Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

In dealing with the passage 399-406 (*Class. Rev.*, February, 1916) I inadvertently and unaccountably associated Mr. Evelyn-White with the suggestion for 402, ἐπεφράσατ' οὐδὲ νόησεν, which seems to belong only to Matthiae and myself. I apologise to Mr. E.-W., who must have been much surprised at the attribution, as his conjecture was very different, ἐπεφράσαθ' ὥστε νοῆσαι. I cannot, however, think this an improvement, even if it be graphically possible. In this case 'reflection' on the part of the sailors could not produce or result in knowledge of any kind, and not only would the expression ὥστε νοῆσαι be cryptic, but ὥστε with an infinitive to follow, a construction so common in later Greek, is very doubtful in early epic. The two instances are ρ 21, where Lehrs would read οὐδ', and l. 42, where ὡδε might stand or, as Lehrs suggests, ἀπονέεσθαι.

Referring to my plea for σοβῆσαι, I find with some satisfaction that the eminent Dutch scholar, van Leeuwen, whose signal services to Homeric scholarship can hardly be valued too highly, evidently pursuing the same line of thought, has already suggested φοβῆσαι, the disappearance of which would however be somewhat harder to explain, and if, as is likely, σοβῆσαι was originally σοφῆσαι, it would be slightly nearer to the νοῆσαι of the tradition.

427 εἶτε Φεράς ἐπέβαλλον. . . .

Possibly ἔνθα Φεράσδ' ἐπέβαλλον 'then it lay for Pherae.' So also ο 297.

There is an ellipse of ἰστία 'set sail for.'

437 ἐπλεον, ἡγεμόνευε δ' ἀναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων.

Either omit δέ or adopt the formula of 514 ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφί ἀναξ.

447 μέγα γὰρ δέος εἶλε ἕκαστον.

All the MSS. but one read εἶλεν ἕκαστον, which is easily made metrical; M alone has ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω, which is obviously unmetrical, irremediably so. The editors with one exception all adopt the reading offered by the majority of the MSS. and dictated by reason, knowledge, and common sense. Allen and Sikes alone with singular perversity blindly print what M has clearly borrowed from the corrupt Λ 11 μέγα σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω. But they are dogmatic as usual: 'There is no reason to prefer the variant εἶλεν ἕκαστον.' These great critics know not Bentley, neither probably do they know that the expression ἐμβάλλειν δέος is unknown to the early epic. Δέος is an active force in Homer: it invariably seizes (αἰρέει, ἐμπίπτει).

449 ἀνέρι εἰδόμενος αἰζηῷ τε κρατερῷ τε.

Both here and Π 716 the latter part of this line should probably be read:

δέμας αἰζηῷ κρατερῷ τε.

Cf. N 45 εἰσάμενος Κάλχαντι δέμας, P 555, β 268, 401, and 222 of this hymn δέμας δελφίνι εἰκώς. For the ictus on the first syllable of αἰζηῷ sufficient warrant is afforded by ἀλλήλων and ἀνθρώπου (-ων). It is the traditional position here that is really objectionable, v. Leaf's *Iliad*, Appendix N (4) ff. Digitized by Google

In the next line *χαίτη* (*χαίτη* cod. Γ) is, of course, right.

456 τίφθ' οὕτως ἦσθον τετιηότες ; . . .

Neither Matthiae's *ἔστητε τετηηότες* nor Cobet's *τίπτε κάθησθ' οὕτω* seems a satisfactory solution of this absurd dual *ἦσθον*. I would suggest

τίφθ' ὡς ἦσθ' ἦτορ τετιηότες ; . . .

But Allen and Sikes are here thoroughly retrogressive and obstructive. They are encouraged by the fact that this hymn contains two other specimens of this misuse of the dual denounced by Aristarchus. Two blacks make one white. Three must produce a quite dazzling argent. Otherwise they must be placing the author of this hymn on a level with Apollonius Rhodius, Aratus, and Oppian. Their note is a curious blend of both views. The latter they strongly assert ('We must assume that the writer like Aratus and others,' and so on), clearly showing that they are unable to distinguish between the genuine old epic and the later Alexandrine imitation.

The other two corrupt places in this piece of unquestionable old epic are :

487 ἱστία μὲν πρῶτον κάθητον λύσαντε βοείας
501 εἰς δ' κε χῶρον ἱκισθον ἵν' ἐξετε πλοῖνα νηόν.

Kuehner reaches the height of learned stupidity when he defends the dual in 487 because the sailors sit at the oars in two groups, one on each side of the ship. He might with equal cogency defend it in 501, because they necessarily walked on two legs.

In 487 Cobet's *καθέμεν λύσαι δέ* (perhaps *λύσαι τε*) is highly probable *pace* Allen and Sikes, firstly because it conveys in clear terms the undoubted meaning ; secondly, and this is a consideration of great importance, because here graphical approximation is not so paramount as in such passages as *H. Dem.* 13, or 101 or 144, or 398, or *H. Apoll.* 539, to which I am coming later. What is of more moment is the view the later Greeks would take of *καθέμεν λύσαι τε*, supposing that to have been the original reading. *Καθέμεν* as an infinitive was for them obsolete, and would rather suggest an un-augmented first plural aorist indicative. E 487 and οἱ θέλοντες συγχεῖσθαι τὰ

δυῖκά παρ' Ὀμήρῳ amply account for *λύσαντε*, even if we suppose that it preceded the natural correction *κάθητον*. The position therefore is this : we cannot rationally accept the traditional reading, and there is considerable probability in favour of Cobet's emendation, sufficient indeed to justify any editor in giving it the preference over a tradition that cannot possibly be right.

To those who still believe in the doctrine of *hiatus licitus* 501 can present no difficulty whatever. They will see in *ἱκισθον* only a wicked interference with *ἱκισθε*, owing to the Greeks of the great literary Athenian epoch not being acquainted with the metrical views of a German named Ahrens. To me the matter is far more serious and troublesome. I am obliged to have recourse to transposition, and to suggest an original :

εἰς δ' χ' ἱκισθ' ἐς χῶρον, ἵν' ἐξετε πλοῖνα νηόν.

For the insertion of *ἐς* there is ample warrant in usage, *cf.*

Θ 60 οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ β' ἐς χῶρον ἕνα ξυνιόντες ἱκοντο,

ζ 176, ο 186, ρ 539, ω 237, and reference may be made to the discussion of ε 55 in *Homericæ*, p. 65 ff., where the loss of *ἐς* before this word *χῶρον* is shown to have occurred in ι 181.

459 ὀππότε' ἂν ἐκ πόντοιο . . . ἐλθωσιν. . . .

There can be no object in preserving *ὀππότεαν* (Allen and Sikes) instead of *ὀππότε' ἂν* (Hermann and editors generally), but it is quite possible that *ὀππότε' ἂν* (*sc. ἀνέλθωσιν*) is the true reading. Most certainly in 461 *ἡμερος εἶλεν* is necessary, *cf. H. Aphr.* 57, and *Homericæ* on λ 43.

464 ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθηνοῖσι εἰκας,

There is no need to exhibit on the printed page the two digammas of *εἰκας*, but for all that no wise editor need disfigure his text with the misleading paragogic ν attached to *καταθηνοῖσι*. A more pressing question, however, is how to deal with *ἐπεὶ . . . γάρ*. Both cannot be right, and the suggestion of Franke has much in its favour,

ἐπεὶ οὐ τι βροτοῖσι καταθηνοῖσι. . . .

Καταθνητοί is never used elsewhere as a noun, nor does it look like one.

Otherwise we must at least change γάρ into δὴ, cf. ο 280 οὐ μὲν δὴ σ' ἐθέλοντα, μ 209 οὐ μὲν δὴ τοδε μείζον, Θ 238 οὐ μὲν δὴ ποτέ φημι.

472 νόστου ἰέμενοι ἄλλην ὁδόν, ἄλλα κέλευθα.

A transposition, *ἰέμενοι νόστου*, is necessary to convert the iambus of the third foot into a spondee. No confirmation of this is required, but the contemplation of ο 69 *ἰέμενον νόστοιο* may be helpful to editorial weakness.

In 476 τὸ πρίν, for which πρόσθεν would serve, probably represents an archaic original *πρόπριν*.

477 ἔς τε πόλιν ἐρατὴν καὶ δώματα καλὰ ἕκαστος. . .

The inventor of *ἔς τε πόλιν ἐρατὴν* doubtless complacently disregarded the defect of his second foot because of his pretty epithet; but probably the writer of the hymn was more concerned for his metre, and wrote

ἐς πόλιν ὑμετέρην,

remembering that he had already done justice to Knosus by a much more definite and descriptive epithet *πολυδέρπεον* (475), cf. E 686.

491 πῦρ ἐπικαίοντες, ἐπὶ τ' ἀλφίτα λευκὰ θύοντες.

This is a curious example of perversity of judgement on the part of Allen and Sikes. In three lines 490-491 we have an injunction. In three lines 508-510 we have its fulfilment, *verbatim*, so far as narrative can be, save in one point that in 509 δ' stands in the tradition after πῦρ, but is omitted in 491 (where however a few MSS. MGO have γ' after *ἐπικαίοντες*, which looks like the correction of an attempt to improve the metre by transferring δ' to a more useful, but impossible, position).

Now it is as plain as daylight—logic, common sense, and established early epic usage alike enforce it—that if δ' be right in one of these two lines, it must also be right in the other. Ilgen saw this and duly inserted the particle in 491, because without it the participles must go with *ποιήσατε* (490), i.e. the fire is kindled, and τὰς sacrifice is offered while the altar is being built, which, as he says, is absurd.

But our editors are not satisfied, and attain a higher level of dogmatic eccentricity than usual in the following spirited remarks: 'The tense of the present participles need not be pressed; in strict logic they are hardly more applicable to what follows them than what proceeds.'

'Strict logic' is good, but can hardly be invoked to prove that

(a) Build me an altar while you are kindling a fire on it and burning white barley-meal on it,

is a rational direction to issue, and involves 'hardly more' difficulty than

(b) While you are kindling a fire on the altar and burning barley-meal on it, then make your prayer.

A poet is not bound to be a 'strict logician,' but we must not needlessly and of malice prepense make him write crazy nonsense (a).

Considerations of metre indicate καὶ ἐπ' for ἐπὶ τ' before ἀλφίτα, and πρῶτον περ (cf. Ξ 295) for τὸ πρῶτον in 493.

495 ὡς ἐμοὶ εἴχεσθαι δελφινίῳ· αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμός
αὐτὸς δελφίνιος καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσsetαι αἰεὶ.

Here difficulties arise, of which the later expression ὁ βωμός is not the most formidable. Editors complain bitterly of the incompatibility of δελφειος or δελφίνιος and ἐπόψιος, and violent hands have been laid on the former epithet with excruciating results of misapplied ingenuity. I cannot believe for a moment in Hermann's αὐτίκ' ἄρ' ἀφνειός, or Ilgen's αὐτόθι ἀφνειός, or Preller's αὐτοῦ δὴ λιπαρός, or Baumeister's αὐτοῦ τηλεφανής, and for this reason. The poet has told his story about the dolphin ending with the building of the altar on the beach. In these two lines evidently he sets himself to show that a recognised epithet of Apollo and some local nomenclature prove that his tale is true. We would rather say that the resemblance of Delphi to δελφίς is at the root of the myth, just as δελφίς has made Delphi the centre of the earth, the γῆς ὀμφαλός. The poetical view, however, the poet's intention, is what I have stated. Therefore δελφειος should not be tampered with. Even M's δελφίνιος (*pace* Ruhnken) is to be deprecated. Δελφίνιος has

given evidence in 495 metrically. Why call up the same witness again in spite of metre in 496? Let δέλφειος under warrant of nearly all MSS. appear, though we may not know this witness by sight. We cannot order him to stand down for that. It is ἐπόψιος that we should mistrust, not δέλφειος. If there had been a hoopoe, ἔποψ, in the story, the case would be very different. As it is, I would read:

ὡς ἐμοὶ εὐχεσθαι Δελφινίῳ· οὐ τ' ἀπο βωμὸς
αὐτὸς Δέλφειος καὶ ἐπάκτιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ.

The altar is 'on the shore,' just as the story said it was to be.

In defence of οὐ τ' ἀπο for αὐτὰρ ὁ, which cannot be right without some modification, it should be noted that it involves the change of two letters only, ο for α at the beginning and π for ρ towards the end. The translation would be, 'from which circumstance,' 'and that is the reason why.'

In 506 νῆ' ἐρύσαντο should certainly be νῆα ἔρυσσαν, and in 517 Πυθῶν' ἰδ' ἡπαισίῳ' ἄειδον might be recommended. In 521-2 Allen and Sikes exhibit lack of judgement in reverting to ἔμελλεν . . . τετιμένος against 'the editors,' as they say themselves.

In 527 for τῷ σῷ I would suggest τὸ τέῳ or even τὸ γε σῷ, nor do I think the form ἄνωγμεν is genuine here (528). The poet probably made his leader of the Cretans say ἄνωγα, which some grammarian altered because of the preceding βιόμεσθα, from which no inference can reasonably be drawn against the first person singular (cf. 543-4).

529 οὔτε τρυγηφόρος ἦδε γ' ἐπήρατος οὐτ' εὐλείμων
ὡς τ' ἀπὸ τ' εὖ ζῶεν καὶ ἄμ' ἀνθρώποις ὀπηδεῖν.

There is some defect even with οὔτε for ἦδε (D'Orville) and ἐπήρατος (Barnes) οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐπήρατος, cf. θ 168. In the next line the use of ὥστε or ὡς τε with an infinitive is alien to the early epic speech. It is astonishing that, like other later usages, it has not been more freely introduced or superinduced into the tradition. I suggest, therefore,

ἦς ἀπο τ' εὖ ζῶεν καὶ ἄμ' ἀνθρώποις ὀπηδεῖν.

The words seem to me to have been somewhat misunderstood. The speaker is not thinking of ministering to mankind or of helping mankind by producing food for pilgrims (Matthiae).

He is simply concerned about the future of himself and his men. 'From which we could live in comfort and do as other men do,' lit. 'follow mankind,' who till the ground and live on the fruits of their labour. So Apollo understands him in his reply, v. 532-3. At the moment the prospect before them is not inviting. They seem likely to become a sort of Swiss Family Robinson, a small troop of Robinson Crusoes in a barren land. They wish to be with their fellow-men, not separated from them, and as it were marooned. 'Οπηδεῖν really means no more than this, cf. E 216 ἀνεμῶλια γάρ μοι ὀπηδεῖ, θ 237, H. Herm. 209.

Minor corrections are needed in 534, which with its prototype λ 146 should probably read ρηίδιον τι ἔπος ἐρέω: in 535 δεξιτερῇφι ἕκαστος (Fick), in 536 σφαζέμεν, and in 537 ὅσσα κ' ἐμοὶ γ' ἀγάγωσι are indispensable, each particle occupying its legitimate and proper position.

538 πῶν δὲ προφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων
ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθύν τε μάλιστα
ἥ τι τηθίσον ἔπος ἔσσεται ἥ τι ἔργον. . . .

So Mr. Allen, making confusion worse confounded by removing the fullstop after μάλιστα and by assuming a lacuna of two lines between 539 and 540. These two lines Mr. Evelyn White most unwisely prints in his Loeb edition.

The crux of the passage is, of course, 539, which has been sadly mangled in the tradition, and ineffectually treated by many editors from D'Orville to Gemoll. 'Εμὴν ἰθύν has I believe given me the key to the mystery: not that I agree with Allen and Sikes, who say 'ἰθύν is no doubt genuine.' They are invariably wrong when they become most positive. They are wrong now.

Let us write ἐμὴν ἰθύν in the older uncials

ΕΜΕΝΙΘΥΝ.

This is not very far from ἐμ' ἐντυν. For ιθ substitute τ, and there emerges ἐμ' ἐντύνεσθε. We find in E 761 δς οὐ τινα οἶδε θέμιστα a neuter form of the more usual θέμιστες . . . ας. Is there anyone who lives so far from the sun that he cannot now see the true reading must be

καὶ ἐμ' ἐντύνεσθε θέμιστα ?

Even if the graphical probability be minimised to the utmost, and there are many who distrust the futilities of palaeography, more especially when it claims to be scientific, the sense of the words is so apt and appropriate that dissent becomes very difficult to maintain. Apollo is explaining the duties that must be discharged by his conscripts. This is the third duty, perhaps the most important of all, 'Arrange ye my ordinances.' The ordinances are the oracles, *cf.*

π 403 εἰ μὲν κ' ἀνέησσι Διὸς μεγάλῳ θεμίστες.

These oracles require embellishment; they have to be put into verse. The verb *ἐντύνω* expresses this with quite sufficient accuracy (*H. Ahrh.* VI. 20 *ἐμὴν δ' ἐντυνον ἀοιδήν*). The temple

authorities would be obliged to admit that this versification was their function, for they could not expect even the most credulous of the faithful to believe that Apollo, the leader of the quire of the Muses, himself composed such bad verses. Read then without lacuna:

νῆδ' δ' εὖ πεφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων
ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων, καὶ ἐμ' ἐντύνεσθε θέμιστα.
εἰ δέ τι τηδῶν ἔπος ἔσσεται, ἢ τι ἔργον,
ὕβρις θ', ἢ θέμις ἐστὶ καταθνήσκων ἀνθρώπων,
ἄλλοι ἔπειθ' ὑμῖν σημαντόρες ἀνδρες ἔσονται,
τῶν ὑπ' ἀναγκαίῃ δεδημησέθ' ἡματα πάντα.

εὖ πεφύλαχθε (538) Schneidewin. 540 εἰ δέ Franke, Baumeister. The warning in 540 seems to me to be not only general, but also special in reference to the *θέμιστα*.

T. L. AGAR.

ΔΑΙΜΩΝ IN HOMER.

THE word *δαίμων* has been generally understood to mean in the Homeric poems either a god or, more commonly, indefinite and not clearly personalised divine power; in the latter sense its use seems to have been not unlike that of our word 'Heaven' as distinguished from 'God.' But Professor Finsler (*Homer* [1914], 268-270) tries to show that when used in the singular it means 'an evil spirit.' 'Besides the Gods,' he writes, 'daemons are often mentioned. When they appear in numbers (three times, and only in the *Iliad*) they are not to be distinguished from the gods. . . . The daemon is a power by itself, a spirit never appearing in human form, never speaking, but remaining ever in mysterious darkness. His appearance usually means harm. He is rarely friendly. . . . That the bounds separating gods from daemons occasionally overlap is natural, but a god who has been mentioned by name is never designated as a daemon in the passages on which our exposition is based.'

There are vital defects in Professor Finsler's exposition. In the first place, one naturally queries why the plural of *δαίμων* should refer to gods, and the singular to an evil spirit. Again, the author repeatedly forces the interpreta-

tion to support his theory. In the simile in which the Trojans besetting the wounded Odysseus are likened to jackals about a wounded stag (*Λ* 474-482), the poet adds: *ἐπὶ τε λῖν ἤγαγε δαίμων*. Finsler comments: 'The lion has been led there by a hostile power.' But how does Finsler know that the poet is taking the jackals' point of view rather than the lion's? The latter seems at least as probable, since the lion is mentioned to make the comparison fit also the rescue of Odysseus by Menelaus and Aias. In 381, where *δαίμων* inspires the comrades of Odysseus with great courage, Finsler, while admitting that 'the daemon' in this instance is friendly, adds: 'But at the same time this the vengeance-spirit, helping against Cyclops.' This, again, is mere assertion: we have not the slightest evidence that Odysseus so regarded *δαίμων*. To take only one more example, when Philoetius expresses the wish that *δαίμων* may bring Odysseus home again (*φ* 201), Finsler translates, 'Would that a daemon might bring him hither!' and adds the comment, 'For the neatherd is thinking only of revenge, as the context shows.' But it is hardly a devil who one hopes will bring home a beloved master.

These interpretations, strained as they seem, might have more chance of acceptance if they were reinforced by other considerations. But quite the contrary is true. For we may note as a further defect in Finsler's discussion the failure to take account of a principle of Homeric technique, pointed out by Jörgensen (*Hermes*, XXXIX., 1904, 357-382), according to which the characters refer to the cause of some unnatural or unexpected action as *θεός*, *δαίμων*, *θεοί*, or *Ζεός*, whereas the poet himself commonly tells us the name of the particular divinity who is acting. Hence the dozen or more passages from the *Odyssey*, which Finsler cites (p. 270) as evidence that 'a daemon' is an unfriendly power, have no weight. All that can be said is that in these instances, without exception, one of the *dramatis personae* ascribes to *δαίμων* the source of some action which seems to be out of the natural order of things—and by no means can all of these actions be due to an unfriendly power (cf. η 248, μ 169, τ 138, υ 87). In the *Odyssey* the word *δαίμων* is used only in speeches, never by the poet himself in his narrative; in the *Iliad*, the singular is used, outside of *oratio recta*, only in the simile mentioned above (Λ 474 ff.), in the oft-repeated comparison, *δαίμονι ἴσος*, and in two other passages (Γ 420, O 418). On *δαίμονι ἴσος* Finsler comments, 'Here we cannot understand a god by the word daemon, for that would not give a clear picture at all. The only god to whom charging warriors are compared is Ares; Patroclus is likened to Ares and to a daemon in a single breath (Π 784, 786).' This passage seems to the present writer to justify the equation *δαίμων* = *θεός*. But at least we may say—and we think Finsler's should have noticed—that the author of the Hymn to Demeter, when he tells us that Demophon grew in stature *δαίμονι ἴσος*, means by *δαίμων* neither a vengeance-spirit nor a devil, but a god. 'Grew like the devil' may have found its way into our vernacular, but we cannot think of it in a Homeric Hymn.

The two passages where the poet himself uses *δαίμων* not in a simile and in the singular, Finsler fails to mention

in his discussion of 'daemons'—rather unfortunately, for they disprove his statement that the poet never refers by the word *δαίμων* to a god who has been named. In O 418, *ἐπέλασσε γὰρ δαίμων*, seems clearly to refer to Apollo (cf. O 259), although possibly Ameis-Hentze may be right in saying that there is no definite reference to this divinity. But in the other verse (Γ 420) *ἤρχε δὲ δαίμων* unquestionably refers to Aphrodite, who has been mentioned by name in verse 413. If Finsler has failed to note these verses in discussing the meaning of *δαίμων* because they are not included 'in the passages on which his exposition is based' (cf. p. 270), then his whole method of exposition is unconvincing. At the beginning of the section on religion (p. 220) he recognises the diverse religious elements that must have entered into the Homeric poems, but sees running through both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, with the exception of the 'Olympic scenes' of the *Iliad* and the *Θεομαχία* of Books XX. and XXI., certain uniform views of the gods, which, he adds, it is his task to portray. The excepted portions he regards as sufficiently distinct to warrant a separate treatment. These portions, therefore, he excludes from his exposition and later (pp. 276-287) indicates the ways in which the gods are differently convinced by their author. Now in the first place he gives the reader no clue to the precise limits of the passages which he excludes. In the case of the omitted verses, however, we should be able to infer that they are not excluded, since he cites verses from the episodes of which they form a part.¹ Secondly, in his treatment of the excluded portions he refers to Γ 420 as follows (p. 284): 'In the light of such views of life we comprehend the words of the gentle Priam that it is not Helen [who is to blame] but only the gods, who are the cause of all unhappiness. We understand how far above Aphrodite the poet places Helen, and when the goddess has abused her superior power he (*i.e.* the poet) angrily cries out: 'So

¹ E.g., p. 230, note 2, of Apollo going to the assistance of Hector, O 237; p. 240, note 1; and p. 247, note 3, of Aphrodite's activity in Book III. (vv. 374, 439).

they departed, and the daemon went ahead.' In the eyes of the poet the goddess is a devil. Hence according to Finsler himself—even if Γ 420 belongs to a portion of the *Iliad* which shows a different conception of the gods—the *Weltanschauung* in so far as it concerns δαίμων is the same as in the other portions, and this passage should have prevented him from making the statement that δαίμων is not applied to a divinity who has been mentioned by name. To the other passage (O 418) I can find no reference in his whole discussion of religion.²

Professor Finsler's forced interpretations, his failure to take sufficient account of Homeric technique and his omission of passages which disprove his statements, make it improbable that his interpretation of δαίμων will be accepted by scholars. Furthermore, the faultiness of his method in this

particular instance will tend to produce a sceptical attitude of mind towards his other conclusions—e.g., that Homer is the author of the *Iliad*, but not of the *Odyssey*; that the *Odyssey* was composed about 600 B.C., etc. Since his book has already passed into a second edition and is meant for a somewhat wider circle of readers than the specialists in Homer, it has seemed desirable to point out one example of the weakness of the author's reasoning, so that his book, useful and suggestive as it undoubtedly is, may be used with due caution, and its results tested carefully before being accepted.

SAMUEL E. BASSETT.

University of Vermont,
Burlington, Vermont, U.S.A.

² I have not cited Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, 531, where the god himself is referred to as Θεῶν ἐριούνη δαίμων, because of the recognised lateness of this part of the Hymn.

EURIPIDEA.

1. *Iphig. in Aul.* 990 f.

ἀλλ' εὐ μὲν ἀρχὰς εἶπας, εὐ δὲ καὶ τέλη·
σοῦ γὰρ θελόντος καὶς ἐμὴ σωθήσεται.

Must we not read τέλει? With σοῦ γὰρ θελόντος we shall then supply εὐ τελεῖν, cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 210 κείνου θελόντος εὐ τελευτῆσαι τάδε. There is the same confusion of τέλει and τέλη in Soph. *Tr.* 238. For the construction cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 219 ἀλλ' εὐ τ' ἔπεμψεν εὐ τε δεξάσθω χθονί. For εὐ τελεῖν cf. εὐ τελεῖ θεός Aesch. *Sept.* 35, εὐ τελεῖν *Pers.* 225. It is regularly used of the right carrying out of a promise or a task: Soph. *Aj.* 528 εἰάν μόνον τὸ ταχθέν εὐ τολμᾷ τελεῖν. Cf. the use of the simple τελεῖν in Soph. *Tr.* 286 ταῦτα γὰρ πόσις τε σὸς | ἐφείτ', ἐγὼ δέ, πιστὸς ὦν κείνῳ, τελῶ, and the simple τελευτῶ in Eur. *Alc.* 374 καὶ νῦν γέ φημί καὶ τελευτήσω τάδε.

I greatly doubt whether ἀρχὰς εἶπας in the sense which the traditional text demands here is justified by such a phrase as κατ' ἀρχάς. But in any case surely τέλη could not have the sense ascribed to it. I assume ἀρχαί to be used much as in *Iph. in Taur.* 939 λέγοιμ' ἂν· ἀρχαί δ' αἶδε μοι πολλῶν πόνων, and it refers not to the beginning of Achilles' speech as opposed to the

end, but to his speech as a whole contrasted with the carrying of his words into execution.

2. *Troades* 568 ff.

Ἐκάβη, λῦσσεῖς τήνδ' Ἀνδρομάχην
ξενικοῖς ἐπ' ὄχλοις πορθμευομένην;
παρὰ δ' εἰρεσία μαστῶν ἔπεται
φίλος Ἀστυάναξ, Ἐκτορος ἱνις.

All editors, I think, take εἰρεσία μαστῶν together. Apart from other difficulties it is extremely awkward to have εἰρεσία following immediately on πορθμευομένην if the metaphor of a boat is not kept up. εἰρεσία should naturally mean the car or the occupant of the car, and it will have this meaning if we take μαστῶν . . . φίλος together, perhaps a subconscious echo of Aesch. *Ag.* 717 ff. λείοντος ἱνι . . . φιλόμαστον. φίλος, if it stands alone, seems rather weak.

3. *Troades* 562 ff.

σφαγαὶ δ' ἀμφιβώμιοι
Φρυγῶν, ἐν τε δαμνίοις
καράτομος ἔρημία
νεανίδων στέφανον ἔφερον
Ἑλλάδι κουροτρόφῳ
Φρυγῶν δὲ πατρίδι πένθος.

Tyrrell in his edition (1897) reads νεανίων for the MSS. νεανίδων and notes: 'The meaning is "the young men butchered, alone and defenceless, added laurels to the crown of Hellas,

nursing mother of brave boys." . . . The MSS. gave *νεανίδων*, but this must be wrong. The young women would be carried away as captives; the young men who were butchered would be such as were surprised alone, and so could not offer any successful resistance.'

To this there are what seem to be quite conclusive objections. First, since there is no antithesis between *σφαγαί* and *καράτομος*, both indicating precisely the same kind of slaughter, the only antithesis must be between *ἀμφιβώμοι* and *ἐν δαμνίοις*. Now it is impossible to conceive why the (presumably) older men perish at the altars, while the young men perish in bed! Even if there were conscientious objectors in Homeric times, at least they should have died at the altars. But secondly, Tyrrell's version gives a wholly trivial meaning to the very significant turns of phrase: *στέφανον ἔφερεν . . . κουροτρόφῳ*, and *Φρυγῶν πατρίδι* in place of the simple *Φρυγία*. If this, then, is the best that is to be made of *νεανίων*, which is Bothe's emendation, we prefer the MSS.

But even so the precise meaning is not easy to determine. When a Greek poet paints the horrors of a captured town, it is not the fate of the young men that awakes his pity. They have 'done their bit'—*νέφ' δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν ἀρηικταμένῳ κείσθαι ἐν προμάχοις*. What he dwells upon is the fate of the old men and the women and children, or just the old men and the women. And the typical fate of the old men is to be slain at the altar, as Priam was slain at the altar of Zeus Herkeios. It seems, then, quite clear that in the present passage *σφαγαί ἀμφιβώμοι* refers exactly to such slaughter of the old men. The remainder of the passage obviously pictures the fate of the young women. Unfortunately this is expressed in ambiguous language. *Καράτομος* may refer to cutting off the head as in Eurip. *Rhes.* 605 f. *τὰς δ' Ἔκτορος | εὐνὰς ἔασον καὶ καρατόμους σφαγὰς*, or to cutting the hair, as in Sophocles *Electr.* 52; so in Aberdeenshire you may say 'get your head cut' for 'get your hair cut.' *ἐρημία* may refer to mere want of help, the mere absence of friends—as the Apharetidai *ἀμὰ δ'*

ἐκαίοντ' ἐρήμοι Pind. *N. X.* 72, *ἐρημος ἐτελεύτα φίλων* Plato *Phaedo* 58 C: or to the 'single sleep'—*ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσεως θρόνου* in the *Agamemnon*; or to absolute emptiness—*εὐνὰς ἐρημον* Eurip. *Rhes.* 574: to the desolation of Scythia (P. V. 2 and Aristophanes) or Arabia Deserta (Pind. *P. IV.* 22).

If now *καράτομος* here, as might be suggested by *σφαγαί* two lines before, refers to 'cutting off the head,' the meaning must be that the defenceless young women had their throats cut upon their beds, and this brought a garland of glory to Hellas but to Phrygia sorrow. I think this implies a very bold use of language, but I am not going to deny that it is possible. But it utterly fails to give point to the phrasing of the immediately succeeding lines. And there is, moreover, the objection that this is not the typical fate of the young women *τῶν ἄστυ ἀλώη*, which is to be haled into captivity—*ἱππηδὸν πλοκάμων*, which at least involves the retention of their heads.

But suppose now that *καράτομος* here refers to 'cutting off the hair.' Read our passage alongside Soph. *El.* 51 ff. *ἡμεῖς δὲ πατρὸς τύμβον . . . καρατόμοις χλιδαῖς στέψαντες* and Aesch. *Ch.* 5 f. *πλόκαμον Ἰνάχῳ θρεπτήριον, τὸν δεύτερον δὲ τόνδε πενθητήριον*. Euripides, it seems to me, had the first meaning, 'cutting off the head,' clearly in his mind. But he deliberately adopted here the second, and it was the second that he developed. In the natural course the maidens would have shorn their hair and given their tresses as a *στέφανος* to their *κουροτρόφος*, to Phrygia *Kurotrophos*. As it is, 'The Flowers o' the Forest are a' wede awa'; and the maidens for whom it must always be *ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα καθεύδω* shear their locks, not for marriage but for mourning, and Hellas, not the fatherland, receives the Nurse's garland:

The old men slain the altar steps imbrue:
On desolate bed

The widow-maidens, never to be wed,
With inauspicious shears

Cut off their locks, the Nursing Mother's due,
For Hellas, but for Phrygia shed,

In place of tresses—tears!

VIRGIL'S RHYTHMS.

VIRGIL's use of one-syllable endings in various rhythms has often been noticed, but, so far as I know, they have not been examined in their context. This I now propose to do for the *Aeneid*.

The first occurs in I. 65, in the half-line *divom pater atque hóminum réx*. This was borrowed from Ennius, and was therefore as familiar to his readers as to us are the scriptural tags which John Bright likes to put in place of an argument. No one, I suppose, would feel this well-known tag to be harsh; but it serves as a kind of hint, a preparation for some variation more striking of Virgil's type.

Sure enough, the hint is followed up by a real violation of the usual rhythm forty lines later (about four minutes in reading) in 105 *praerúptus aquae móns*, where the rough rhythm was doubtless meant to echo the sense. This device may easily become a cheap trick; but we shall see how sparingly Virgil uses it, and admire his self-restraint. A little later, in 151, at nearly the same interval as between the first two, the faintest possible echo is given by *si forte virúm-quem*, which is not really an instance of our type, because *quem* is enclitic, and therefore the accent falls as I have marked it; but it has just enough of variety to serve as a call upon the ear in the change of accent upon *virum*. Similarly *st quem* in 180 reminds us of *virúm quem* without being in any way abnormal. There are no others in Book I.

We find the next in II. 170 *aversa déae méns*, where the sense again is reinforced by this back-striking accent. It is true that there is *ex quo* in 163, but this is normal, and I believe therefore that *déae méns* breaks on the ear suddenly, and is meant to do so. In 216 *et iám* is a new variety, which serves to emphasise *iam* firmly but not violently; but 250 is a stroke of genius, for *vertitur interea caelum* is from Ennius, and although *ruit océano nóx* is not,¹ the

suggestion is unconsciously received that it is, which excuses its roughness; whilst the roughness itself serves simply the purpose of relieving the smoothness of the rest, like a touch of cayenne pepper to an oyster. In 355 is *lúpi ceú*, and 647 brings in *divom pater atque hóminum réx* again, as if with a spice of malice to insist on the authority of Ennius for 250. Again Ennius comes into our ken in III. 12 *cum sociis natoque penatibus et mágnis díis*, which analysed proves to be a greater dislocation of Virgil's rhythm than any of the preceding: Virgil is getting bold. Ennius's actual words are *doque volentibus cum magnis díis*, and it will be seen that Virgil, while he intends beyond a doubt to recall these words, keeps the exact rhythm, and yet avoids one roughness which he had deliberately discarded, the elided *s*. In 151, *quá sé* is a real novelty in having two distinct accents; but what a far-away dim echo of the last grating example, which of course has no excuse in the sense, and passes because of its associations of antiquity and dignity. It is not long before we receive another shock in 390 *inventá sub ilícibus súis*, a rhythm which recalls with a slightly grotesque touch¹ *ruit océano nóx*; and this again has a dim far-away echo in *quí núnc* 695.

The fourth book presents us with a quaint novelty in *odora cánum vis* 130, again with no imitation of the meaning: so far, that device has only been used once. The phrase recalls Ennius's ending *ópum ví* in sound, but it seems to have a genial and half-comic effect.² But 314 *dextramque tíam té* is a new and completely successful effect, such as all masters of rhythm aim at, where the attention is held by an unusual rhythm. There are no more in the fourth book, but there are two in the fifth. In the first, 481 *procumbit húmí*

¹ It is, of course, not possible to be sure that Virgil felt this as grotesque; but Horace has the same rhythm and the same sound in his certain grotesque, *ridiculus mús*.

² Ennius has other examples of this final rhythm: *aquae vis, núm cor, férat fórs, hlemps ét, locis dánt, réfert rém, hómo réx*.

¹ Ennius has however this rhythm: *exóritur sbl, praeterea fúx, restituit rém, Servilius stc*.

bós the sense-imitation is obvious, and as I think obviously comic. The remarkable thing is that there are no more of this sort, although there are plenty of good openings; but Virgil knows well how easy it is to make this device cheap. Before and after this we have *quí sé* in 372 and *ó géns* in 624, which by this time pass almost unnoticed, if I am not mistaken. But 638 *iam tempus ági rés* is of the more intellectual type, which calls attention by a forced rhythm. Ennius has *iúvat rés*, and he is fond of this rhythm.

In the sixth book there is nothing at all (for *nec te* in 117 would certainly strike no ear) except the one solemn passage in which Fabius Maximus is described with Ennius's own line, *unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rém* 846. Nor is there anything in VII., not even one of the faint possible echoes, until we reach *nutu Iunonis éunt rés* 592, *íám túm* 643, at the four-minutes' interval, and the more striking *iam saetis obsita, íám bós* 790, which seems to me quite perfect.

But after this considerable interval, which includes the most elevated part of the whole poem, we have a little shock on meeting once more an old friend, the *inventa sub illicibus súis* (43) of the third book, which is repeated in 83, *procubuit viridique in litore conspícitur súis*, in which line the rhythm is remarkable for another reason. No better way could be found to fix on our minds that this is that which was to come.¹ To keep this in mind there is another echo of the third book in *penatibus et mágnis dís* 679.

The ninth book, after a few trifles like *hinc comminus atque hinc* 440, *hoc mihi dé te* 491, and *sí qua* 512, of which only the first is a variation on the normal accent, the last two being really disyllables, we come to a new trace of Ennius in 532 *summaque evertere ópum ví*,² where the cross-accent may be meant to imitate the sense. There is no shock now in this mild variant, nor is there in *qui casus ágat rés* 723, already familiar.

The tenth book opens with a solemn old-fashioned sentence, containing the Ennian *divom pater atque hóminum réx*, followed up by *aut hós* 9 and *quam quisque sécat spém* 107, *vigilans déum géns* 228, *ut nós* 231; but *pugnaeque parént se* 259 is probably enclitic. There seems no particular point in any of this group, but there is in 360 *haeret pede pes densusque vítro vír*, which also is partly Ennius and partly Furius (*pressatur pede pes, mucro mucrone, vítro vír*). The last phrase is repeated in 734 *seque vítro vír contulit*, and actually *divom pater atque hóminum réx* 743, which has ceased to attract any attention. *Mole síua stát* 771 is another of those which use the device to attract attention to a word (*sua*), but *tectusque tenét se* is normal, *se* being enclitic. Again we have the emphatic use in 843 *praesaga máli méns*. There seems only a literary reason for *aperit sí nulla víam vís* 864—that is, the alliteration and the slight variation give a kind of piquant touch. There is an unusual number of instances in this book, and there are other metrical variations besides.

The first in Book XI. is 164 *nec foedera néc quás iunximus hospitio dextras*, an extra accent, but not enough to attract attention; similarly in 170-1 we have two lines of an exquisitely balanced rhythm, to which the extra accent on *quam* is essential:

*quam pius Aeneas, et quam magni Phryges,
 et quám
Tyrrhenique duces, Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis.*

An admirable use of the emphatic accent is found in 373 *étiam tú, sí qua tibi vís*. In 429 we have again *et quós*, in 632 *legitque vítrum vír* (as twice before). Thus there is nothing new in this book, only what we have heard already. The extra accent balancing a phrase in the same line, which has evidently found favour in Virgil's ear, occurs in XII. 48 *pro me . . . pró mé*. In 360 is *quí mé* (unless *me* be enclitic, as it may be); the intention of *núnc*, *núnc* 526 is quite clear. After so many normal abnormalities, if I may say so, we come at last to what my ear has long been craving for, another echo of Ennius in 552 *summa nituntur ópum ví*,

¹ *Méns est* in 400 is not in point, since *est* is enclitic, and the same is true of phrases like *supra est* (*suprast*).

² Ennius: *summa nituntur ópum ví*, see XI. 552.

and anon a second 565 *Iuppiter hâc stât.*
If 850 *déum rēx* be not drawn from the
same source, it sounds as if it were.

Thus the poem ends in the same key as
it began, with echoes of the solemn
music of Ennius.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

HARLEY MS. 2610, AND OVID, *MET.* I. 544-546.

victa labore fugae tellus ait hisce vel istam (544)
quae fecit ut ledar (facit ut laedar *cell.*) mutando
perde figuram,
fer pater, inquit opem, si flumina numen habetis.
vix prece finita *cet.* (547)

It takes Dr. H. Magnus, in his recent edition, close upon a hundred lines of Latin to array the evidence here and to summarise the theories to which that evidence has given birth. He has also—it should be added—done students of the matter a signal service by appending to the note aforesaid facsimiles of the text of the essential pages from three of the leading MSS. Those who will may study in his book the material so bountifully provided. Here we have space only for the essentials.

Two of these three MSS.—viz. M and N—unfortunately fail us, but not altogether, for the facsimiles make it perfectly plain that, as he says, the original scribes (M¹ and N¹) recognised as authentic only two lines of text, not three.

The reliques of M¹ are these:

victa labore fugae (544)
qua nimium placui mutando perde figuram. (545)

The second hand, M², has erased half of line 544, adding in *rasura* 'spectans peneydos undas,' and in 545 has drawn the pen through the last three words and written above them 'tellu' ait isce vel istam.' From N¹ only the first three words of the two lines remain: *erasa cetera*. Both, as the facsimiles show, went straight on from the end of 545 to 547, 'vix prece finita.' The additamenta in the margin of M and between the lines of N are both in hands so recent that they may fairly be ignored: they add nothing to what the other MSS. supply, and can claim no precedence.

(2) Happily, however, there is another witness of first-rate importance available here, viz. ε, the Harleian MS. 2610, saec. X.-XI., a MS. at least as good—so Ellis believed and proved—as

M and N for that portion of the poem which it preserves. The scribe's spelling is often fantastic, but his *bona fides* is above suspicion. And ε offers without any perplexing erasures or variants the text as printed at the head of this note.¹

(3) Now the parents of Daphne were Earth and Water—Tellus and Peneus;² and some authorities credit the mother, not the father, with causing her transformation at the critical moment. Hyginus (*Fab.* 203) tells the story thus: 'Apollo Daphnen, Penei fluminis filiam, cum virginem persequeretur, illa a Terra praesidium petit. Quae eam recepit in se et in arborem laurum commutavit. Apollo inde ramum fregit et in caput imposuit.' Ovid, strangely enough, does not commit himself—except for line 546 of ε's text. He records the change—'Daphne in laurum'—but not the hand by which the change was effected.³

It is just because 'Lactantius'—i.e. Ovid's early editor, not Ovid—in his prose 'argument' says 'patrem invocavit,' without expressly mentioning any cry of 'Mother!'⁴ that later editors tend almost unanimously to reject as spurious the *manus prima* of ε and to accept instead the *manus secunda* of M, backed as to a certain extent it is by the rest—with the important exception of L, which Hensius ranked high (it is his 'Mediceus Primus'), and which Madvig and Merkel placed second only to M.

¹ The fourth line ('Qua . . . figuram'), which Dr. Magnus ascribes to ε, is not in the *manuscript*. (Dr. Gilson, the Keeper of the MSS., has very kindly verified the point, and endorses my report.)

² Or, according to others, Tellus and Ladon: see Munro on *Aetna*, line 6, and the works there cited.

³ Lines 577 to 578 might be thought to imply that the father had *not* intervened, Earth being apparently the agent.

⁴ But cf. 13. 880 (*q.v.*), Et "fer opem, Galatea mihi, mihi ferte, parentes."

(4) Now the appeal to Tellus, coming as it does from a daughter of Earth, would in any case be singularly natural and appropriate here. But there is another point which is strongly in its favour. The expression is almost proverbial. It is as old as Homer: *τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών* (Δ. 182; Θ. 150). It recurs three times in Vergil: 'Tellus optem prius ima dehiscat' (*Aen.* 4. 24; *ib.* 10. 675; 12. 883), and at least twice in Ovid himself. The passages are in the *Heroides*: viz. 'Hiscere nempe tibi Terra roganda fuit' (6. 144) and 'Devorer ante precor subito Telluris hiatu' (3. 63). The prayer is proper to a person in terrible trouble or perplexity, and we might *a priori* expect to find it followed by a prayer to river or sea also to swallow up the sufferer.

So Io, in the *Prometheus Vincitus*,¹ after the conventional appeal to Earth, 'ἀλεὺ ἂ δᾶ!' of line 567 (Sidgwick), breaks into the cry: 'πυρὶ με φλέξον ἢ χθονὶ κάλυψον, ἢ ποντίοις δάκεσι δὸς βοράν!'

But we have only to transpose lines 545 and 546, to get just such an appeal here:

'Tellus,' ait, 'hiscce, vel istam
'Fer, Pater,' inquit, opem! si flumina numen
habetis
'Quae facit ut laedar mutando perde figuram!'

(5) The margins of early Ovidian MSS. bristle with glosses and variants, and the words 'spectans peneydos undas' look very like a gloss. As for the alternatives, 'Quae facit ut laedar' and 'Qua nimium placui,' there is really not a pin to choose between them. Ritschl wished to eject the

¹ Since this was written, I notice that Merkel in the Preface to his second edition also cites these two passages from Aeschylus. He keeps the half-line which others reject; but his text of the whole is not altogether satisfactory.

former. As however the words happen to be the reading of so good a MS., it may seem rash to agree with him. One really vital question is the authenticity or non-authenticity of ver. 546. There is no apparent reason why it should have fallen out of M and N;¹ but they drop a score of other lines without the slightest provocation.

The scribe of ε, however, occasionally omits but never interpolates a verse. On the other hand, he is elsewhere, though very rarely, guilty of transposition;² and as two first-rate MSS., F and *Palat Vatican.* 1669, reverse his order here, giving line 546 before line 545, the arrangement proposed has good MS. authority. 'Ait' taken up so quickly by 'inquit' may or may not be justifiable in excited narrative; cf. 3. 673; 5. 195; 7. 681, f. If the iteration be unjustifiable, a good second-class MS. 'e'³ the *Erfurtensis Prior* offers 'aut' for 'ait'; and so did 'multi ex antiquis Heinsii.' This may point to some slight dislocation and corruption at the end of line 544, and tempt us, *ut in loco vexato*, to emend and read:

victa labore fugae 'Tellus aut Unda dehisce!'
'fer, Pater,' inquit, 'opem!—si flumina numen
habetis,
quae facit ut laedar, mutando perde figuram!'

D. A. SLATER.

*Bedford College,
University of London.*

¹ If in some 'forbear' of theirs line 544 began with *fessa* (see 5. 618), not *victa*, the omission might easily have occurred.

² To the two examples in Ellis (*Anecd. Oxon. Class. Ser.* 1. 5, anni 1885) at 2. 823 and 3. 172, add another, viz. 2. 755, which is not 'omitted' but placed before 754:—a total of three only in some two thousand lines and more.

³ = the symbol for "equals."

⁴ vel 'dehiscas!'

THE 'PROSPECTIVE.'

MR. FRANK FOWLER's article in the August-September number (pp. 97-99) demands an answer from me; but I must try to be brief.

In the first place let me express my satisfaction that Mr. Fowler is in such close touch with me, though he hardly knows

it himself, as to the fundamental meaning of the subjunctive. German scholars generally deny nowadays that there is such a thing as a 'Grundbegriff' of the subjunctive, but Mr. Fowler, though he substitutes the term 'compulsion' for my term 'obligation,' really means

exactly what I mean, viz. that the subjunctive expresses fundamentally that something *is to be done* or *was to be done*.¹ It is true that he does not go so far as I do in recognising this meaning as the basis of 'volitive' expressions; he draws a sharp line of distinction between (say) *faciat* in the sense of 'let him do it' (a command) and *faciat* in the sense of 'he is to do it,' which he calls compulsive. To my mind the only difference is that in the former use the thing that is to be done by the person spoken of is *also* willed or desired by the speaker; but the thing is still *to be done* by the person spoken of. The person who *is to act* is always indicated by the personal inflexion; hence *facias* 'you are to do it'—sometimes = 'do it' (a command in Old Latin), sometimes without any intervention of the will of the speaker. In the case of *facias* (second person) the person who is to act is the person addressed instead of the person spoken of. Let Mr. Fowler, however, if he chooses, draw a sharp line of demarcation between the volitive and the compulsive meanings. But what right has he to accuse me of 'not seeing that in a purpose clause we have to do with a *willed* result.' He would be blind indeed who did not see that. I see it and have shown that I see it in my *Unity of the Latin Subjunctive*, p. 35, where I say that the kinship of final subjunctives with subjunctives of volition is 'obvious and universally admitted'; also in my *New Latin Grammar*, § 338, where I say 'Many adjective and adverb clauses with a *shall*-subjunctive denote what is *desired*'; cf. § 320. Nevertheless, the final subjunctive is also an expression of what *is to be done*—i.e. it is merely a species of the one great genus.

Probably the source of Mr. Fowler's misconception of my position is that I did not sufficiently emphasise in my *Unity* the distinction between the fundamental meaning of the subjunctive and its developed usages.

Now as to the prospective subjunctive in particular. Mr. Fowler denies that there is any such thing as a 'prospective' or 'anticipatory' or 'futural' subjunctive, though he does not deny that there is 'a contextual implication of futurity' in many instances. I freely admit that contextual implication will explain some instances; but it cannot explain them all. There is no contextual implication of futurity in the conjunctions *antequam*, *priusquam*, *donec*, *dum*, etc.; these may be just as well followed by a past tense of the indicative (denoting past fact) as by a prospective subjunctive. Take one of Mr. Fowler's instances (Livy. V. 33. 5); does he mean to say that *Ducentis quippe annis antequam Clusium oppugnaverunt* (for *oppugnarent*) *in Italiam transcederunt* would be bad Latin or bad sense? The reason why Livy used the subjunctive *oppugnarent* was simply that he wanted to mark the action as *to be done*, not as a past fact. Yes, Mr. Fowler will say; but by the subjunctive Livy marks the action an 'externally determined' or 'compulsive': it is this modal idea which is expressed, not the temporal idea of futurity. Good. In this particular instance *antequam Clusium oppugnarent* may well be translated 'before they were destined to make war on Clusium.' I have myself quoted instances like this on p. 35 of my *Unity*, and I will add a good parallel to Mr. Fowler's instance from Tacitus, *Germania* 29: *in quibus pars imperii Romani fierent* ('they were destined to become'); cf. too *Agricola* 34 *in quibus ederetis* (which, however, may be regarded as final). But when Mr. Fowler insists that the full meaning of external determination or what I call 'determined futurity' or 'natural necessity' (*Unity*, p. 7) is present in all instances of the subjunctive after *antequam*, *priusquam*, *donec*, *dum*, etc., I regard this as an exaggeration, due to a failure to recognise that in the developed usages of the mood the full fundamental meaning suffers certain changes. In the large majority of instances of the subjunctive after one of the above mentioned temporal conjunctions the meaning of determined futurity is modified or weakened, so as to be

¹ My 'obligation' is not limited to the sphere of either the ethical or non-ethical 'ought'; I use the term in a wide sense and with full consciousness that no single term quite expresses the idea which I have in mind. See my *Unity of the Latin Subjunctive*, p. 19 (John Murray, 1910).

hardly distinguishable from an expression of bare futurity. How forced it would be to translate *Exspectare dum hostium copiae augeantur* by 'to wait till the forces of the enemy are bound to be increased' (Caesar *B. G.* iv. 13; cf. iii. 18, iv. 23, ii. 12)! No; the Latin expression of what *is to be done* has here come to denote little or nothing more than is denoted by these English words in many instances, especially in old-fashioned (seventeenth century) English: e.g. 'The Prime Minister *is to return* (= will return) next week.' Here, then, you have my definition of a Prospective Subjunctive; it is a subjunctive in which the fundamental idea of obligation or natural necessity or determined futurity has been weakened into an expression of little more than bare futurity. A temporal idea? Yes. There is no hard and fast barrier which separates modal from temporal meaning. This prospective subjunctive may either refer to the future from a *present* point of view, denoting what *is to be*, or to the future from a *past* point of view, denoting what *was to be*; in the latter case we have the *past prospective* meaning, e.g., *delitui dum vela darent*. 'I lay hidden till they *should* set sail' (*Aen.* II. 136); *te, boves olim nisi reddidisses . . . voce dum terret, viduus pharetra risit Apollo* (*Hor. Od.* I. 10. 9-12), 'Apollo while threatening thee unless thou *shouldst have restored* the oxen, was robbed of his quiver and laughed.' Every example of a Past Perfect Subjunctive that represents a Future Perfect Indicative of *oratio recta* is a prospective subjunctive. Mr. Fowler is quite right in saying that the time of the subjunctive in *Tusc.* iv. 22 *priusquam manus consererent* is past: but that does not prevent the tense from being prospective. It is a tense of past time which has a reference to what then lay in the womb of the future. I am surprised that this conception of the future in the past presents

so much difficulty to grammarians. It is a perfectly simple and a fundamentally necessary grammatical concept, the importance of which was fully recognised by the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology in its report of 1911. There is, then, no difference of opinion between me and Mr. Fowler as to the fact that the time of expressions denoting what *is to be done* is present and of expressions denoting what *was to be done* is past. But in both of these expressions there is also a reference to the future, and in many instances the 'idea of compulsion practically disappears.

I hope it will be clear that I do not wish to extend unnecessarily the sphere of influence of the prospective subjunctive. On the contrary, wherever the full fundamental meaning of the mood can be discerned, the better I am pleased. The Latin subjunctive is very like the English 'shall'; it often passes into an expression of mere futurity, but the fundamental idea of obligation shines through in a large number of instances.

I will add that I do not fully grasp what Mr. Fowler means by saying (p. 99, note 1) 'What he (Mr. Sonnenschein, *Unity*, pp. 36 ff.) sees as the fundamental and unifying meaning of the Latin subjunctive—"obligation"—is nothing but the essential character of modal ideas in general: it belongs to the Greek Optative and to the English periphrastic modal expressions.' Modal ideas in general is a very vague phrase; and English periphrastic modal expressions include some which have nothing obligatory about them. If Mr. Fowler merely means that the Greek Optative (so called) may also be said to express fundamentally the idea of obligation in my sense of the term, I agree with him. But that is a long story, into which I cannot enter to-day.

E. A. SONNENSCHN. EIN.

'VIRGIL, AEN. VII. 695-6' AGAIN.

Hi Fescenninas acies aequosque Faliscos
Hi Soractis habent arces Flaviniaque arva.

THE writer of the note on this passage, which appeared in *Class. Rev.* for February, 1905 (Vol. XIX. p. 38), may perhaps be permitted to express his gratification at finding that Dr. Warde Fowler¹ and his most recent reviewer² tend to agree in the interpretation of 'acies' as = Edges, which was there, to the best of his knowledge and belief, put forward for the first time.

But are these two eminent scholars right in challenging as they do the authenticity of the term, 'Soractis arces'? The poet who in the *Georgics* (IV. 461 and I. 240) characterises 'silver Rhodope' and the 'Scythian hills' as 'Rhodopeiae arces' and 'Rhipaeae arces' respectively, may surely be allowed in the *Aeneid* a variant of the same phrase to describe snow-clad Soracte? Whether Conington's rendering 'mountain heights' is altogether adequate is quite another matter. Perhaps on the whole the Biblical phrase, 'high places,' might come nearer to the connotation of the original. For to Dr. Warde Fowler's question, 'What shall we say of *arces*?' the answer would seem to be abundantly clear. 'Arx' here and elsewhere stands for the stronghold of a god. The only point that admits of doubt is whether in this passage the 'arces' are the work of Nature or of man—a temple or a crag.

'Apollo had a temple on the top of Soracte' says Conington in his note at *Aen.* XI. 785. Now (a) is Virgil alluding to that temple here, just as Ovid appears to be alluding to the temple of Venus on Mt. Eryx, when he writes (*Am.* III. 9. 45), 'Avertit vultus Erycis quae possidet arces,' and Statius to the

temple of Jupiter (?) on Mt. Anxur when in the *Silvae* (I. 3. 86 f.) he uses the same word, 'arcesque superbae Anxyris'?'¹ or (b) in such contexts is the crag itself—temple or no temple—*per se* the stronghold? In Greek and Latin poetry we constantly find the gods 'located' on the hill-tops.² The most famous instance is perhaps Homer's ἀκροάτη κορυφή πολυδαιράδος Οὐλύμπιοιο (*A.* 499), which becomes in Virgil (*Aen.* I. 250) the 'arx caeli' and in Ovid (*Metamm.* II. 33 and elsewhere) 'arx' pure and simple. Clearly the word and the spot had religious associations,³ and would seem to carry us back beyond the dawn of history to a time when primitive man dreaded these 'high places' as the special abodes and fastnesses of superhuman powers, much as in the Middle Age the superstitious fancy of Petrarch's peasants peopled the hill-tops with demons and spirits.

Virgil himself (*Aen.* VIII. 347. ff.) makes Evander say of (what Tacitus, *H.* III. 69, calls) the 'arx Capitolii,' long before the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus stood there:

... 'Hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso vertice collem

(Quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades ipsius

Credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem Aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.'⁴

Nor was the belief confined to Italy and Greece. In Exodus (XIX. 12 f.) Mt. Sinai is invested with a similar sanctity. It is from the high places of the mountain that God speaks to Moses. The parallels from the New Testament I forbear to quote. They will occur at once to every reader.

¹ At *Aen.* III. 553 the meaning of *arces* is uncertain. In Ovid, *Am.* III. 3. 35, 'Iuppiter igne suo lucos iaculatur et arces,' *arces* by itself seems to stand for 'temples.'

² *Aen.* VI. 805, 'Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigres'; Catullus, LXIV. 390 f.; Ovid, *Metamm.* II. 219, V. 284, 'Virgineusque Helicon.' These are only two or three of the numerous passages which might be cited in illustration of the tendency to identify gods and goddesses with particular heights.

³ As in Horace's sacrificial 'Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.'

⁴ See Dr. Warde Fowler's *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, pp. 73-74.

¹ See *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans*, Blackwell, 1916, pp. 64 f.

² 'J.W.M.' in the *J.R.S.*, Vol. VI., Part 2, pp. 214 ff. Yet 'J.W.M.' in *The Aeneid of Virgil translated into English*, Macmillan and Co., 1885, rendered line 695: 'These are of the Fescennine ranks and of Aequi Falisci.' Dr. Conway did the theory the honour of giving it his whole-hearted support years ago: *Proceedings of the C.A.* IV. 29, *alibi*.

All this may have been pointed out before, but if so it has been lost sight of, and the case needs restating.¹ As for the choice between 'Soracte's peak' and 'Soracte's shrine,' who would venture to decide? Whichever of the two roads we take, these 'high places' clearly harboured a community, no matter how small, which sent its quota of volunteers to the 'great war.' Further, to this community ('qui Soractis habent arces') belonged, it would seem,²

Arruns, the slayer of Camilla, for it is to Apollo of Soracte that he prays at the crisis :

Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus . . .

But this leaves us with a fresh conundrum. Was Arruns an anti-feminist? Or why did he kill one of his own leaders? Perhaps here again we have traces of unrevised work.

D. A. S.

CLASSICAL TEACHING.

AN unimportant and very recently elected member of the Classical Association, I note that one of the objects of the Association is to improve the practice of classical teaching.

I am perfectly ignorant of the manner in which the classics are taught in our schools at the present day, and the suggestions and remarks which follow are founded upon recollections of my own schooldays at Eton in the seventies, and upon three texts of Virgil with notes respectively by Conington, Papillon and Haigh, and Page, who will be referred to henceforward as C., PH., and P. Of these I have found P. by far the most useful, but even he is lacking in information for which I have sought. I speak as one with no pretensions to scholarship, but as one who has tried to keep up his Latin and his Greek as far as Homer throughout a busy professional life.

Take the *Georgics* to begin with; none of the editions concerned gives any explanation of what Virgil meant by the rising or setting of stars or groups of stars as aids to the times and seasons for agricultural operations. No edition which I have come across does so except the Delphin. Again in the account of agricultural operations and

implements, no description or pictures are given of these as they exist to-day in the East. I never really understood Virgil's account of ploughing, threshing, winnowing, a threshing floor and the like, until I was travelling through Transcaucasia and Northern Persia, where I saw a primitive plough, an 'area' and the use of the 'tribulum' and 'trahea,' and the process of winnowing by tossing up the mixture of corn and chaff with a large wooden shovel into the wind. The heavy grain fell down in a heap, and the light chaff was blown away to fall down farther on.

PH. on *Georg.* I. 164 does say that the tribula were weighted, roughened boards, and that similar instruments are used in the East, but it would have been much better to give a picture of the process.

Georg. I. 2 : 'ulmisque adjungere vites.' P. says, 'elms were specially grown to train vines upon.' It would have been better if he had added that they are only about eight feet high, for I remember how puzzled I used to be by this phrase when at Eton, for the only elms I knew were some eighty feet high, those in the playing fields for example, and not until I went to Italy and saw a vineyard did I understand.

I. 164 : 'iniquo pondere rastris.' P. says that the rastrum clearly differed from a modern hoe in being very heavy. Now the so-called Canterbury hoe is obviously the ancient rastrum, and any one who tries breaking up heavy ground or hard clods with this implement for ten minutes will have no doubt about the iniquity of the weight.

¹ Just as, in *C.R.* XXXIII. 30, Mr. Williamson found it necessary to recall us to the interpretation of *Aen.* I. 460, with which 'every schoolboy' is familiar in Conington's Translation and Commentary, but which, since Henry, it has apparently been the fashion to discard for something more subtle and recondite.

² So 'Aelius Donatus apud Servium,' cited by Nettleship at *Aen.* XI. 785.

I. 81: 'Cinerem.' P. is the only commentator I have met with who explains that these are wood ashes, and 'would therefore form an actual fertiliser.' His note would have been better still had he explained that wood ashes contain potash.

Irrigation is another process upon which commentators are sadly lacking. P. does give a slight description in his notes on *Georg.* I. 106 *et seq.*, but not enough to make the matter clear to one who has not seen an irrigated field. The arrangement is difficult to describe in words, but it would be easy to give a picture and diagram of how the irrigating channels are arranged and of how the water is let out from one channel into another. Incidentally such a diagram would explain that curious passage in Deuteronomy xi. 10: 'Thou wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs.' I never understood this until I saw a cultivator in Persia watering a melon garden by walking along between the channels and now and then breaking down the little walls of earth with his foot, so as to let the water out into the bed.

Why do commentators follow one another like sheep, without verifying references? Here is an instance; P. on *Georg.* I. 427 says, 'Kennedy well explains: "When the new moon is very clear, besides the bright crescent which reflects the sun's rays, the rest of the orb is dimly seen by the rays reflected from the earth and back from the moon. This phenomenon is referred to in the Scotch ballad of Sir Patrick Spence:

I saw the new moon late yestreen
Wi' the old moon in her lap.

If the air is vaporous, the earth's rays are lost to sight, and the moon appears as described by Virgil here.'" PH. give the same explanation and quotation. Kennedy must have quoted from memory, for the usual reading is:

I saw the new moon late yestreen
Wi' the auld moon in her arm.

Moreover, the whole point of the sailor's remark comes in the preceding and following couplets:

Now ever alack my master dear
I fear a deadly storm.

and

And if we gang to sea, master,
I fear we'll come to harm.

The phenomenon of the old moon in the new moon's arms is a well-known sign of bad weather, as any one who lives in the country knows, but Kennedy and his followers evidently take it as a sign of good weather.

Commentators' notes often miss points of interest by omitting to give modern instances of grammatical forms. In *Aen.* I. 37, 'Mene incepto desistere victam,' both PH. and P. explain that the accusative and infinitive used interrogatively without a principal verb express strong indignation, and the former translate: 'I to desist, thus baffled from my purpose.' There is an admirable example of both the accusative with infinitive and the strong indignation in a quite modern English book which, were it given, would fix the meaning in any boy's memory—namely, in Surtees' *Mr. Sponge's Sporting Tour*, p. 10, where Peter Leather having been asked to put on 'a Quaker collared blue coat, with a red vest, and a pair of blue trousers with a broad red stripe down the sides,' declined, saying: 'Me make a guy of myself! Me put on sech things! Me drive down Sin Jimes Street!'

Aen. I. 212-13: PH. say "'tremencia," yet quivering, this indicates their haste. "Veribus figunt," "impale on spits," rather than "transfix with spits."

No commentator whom I have come across seems to realise the force of the expression 'tremencia' in this place. Of course they were in a hurry, for they were hungry, but also because, as any one who has travelled in wild countries knows, if fresh-killed meat be cooked before rigor mortis sets in—i.e. while still quivering—it is beautifully tender. If rigor mortis has set in before cooking, it is uneatably tough, until after hanging. What they did was to cut off small cubes of meat as soon as the skin was off, stick them on spits and grill them as quickly as possible. That is the meaning of 'tremencia.'

P., commenting on the same passage, pokes fun at Conington for suggesting that the water in the 'aena' was for washing. Surely Conington is right, and P., who is generally so informing, has made a slip. The men were tired

and had been soaked in salt water, which had dried on them, which produces a most uncomfortable sensation. They would probably do as did Odysseus and Diomedes after the raid on the Trojan camp (*Iliad* X. 572-576), who had a bath after a preliminary wash in the sea. P. implies that the cauldrons were for boiling meat, but no hungry man would boil his meat. First of all it takes a much longer time than grilling, and, secondly, plain boiled meat is very tasteless.

Aen. XI. 9: 'Telaque trunca.' C., P., and PH. explain this as the broken darts which had shivered against Aeneas' shield (*Aen.* X. 882 ff). But Virgil says nothing about the darts being shivered on the shield. On the contrary, he says that they stuck in the shield until Aeneas got tired of carrying them about and equally tired of pulling them out.

Surely the darts on the trophy were broken to prevent the ghost of Mezentius making use of them, the idea being the same as that pointed out by Dr. Warde Fowler in his delightful book on *Aen.* VIII., p. 95, in a note on line 562, 'scutorumque incendi victor acervos.'

I would like to make a suggestion here as to Dr. Fowler's rendering of 'stricturae chalybum.' He says, p. 79, 'I believe, though I own I cannot prove it, that in each line chalybs means a pig of iron.' I think that Dr. Fowler is in error here. A pig of iron is a cast mass of the metal obtained by allowing the fluid iron to run into a mould. Now primitive smelting processes never, I believe, raised the heat sufficiently to melt the iron. The melting point of iron is from 2,500 to 3,000° F. The process employed in early times was more or less as follows: The purest obtainable oxides of iron—e.g. haematite or the iron rag of the Sussex Weald—were used. The ore was smelted with charcoal, and sometimes chalk was added as a flux, though in very early times the use of chalk or lime was unknown. As the oxide reduced, a mass of spongy iron formed, containing liquid slag, probably a silicate of alumina, in its pores. This slag had to be squeezed or hammered out until the metal was homogeneous.

I would suggest, therefore, that the 'stricturae' were these lumps of spongy iron, which had to be squeezed, rolled, or hammered to get rid of the slag, and that they were so called because they were meant to be squeezed, just as a particular kind of playing card is known as 'squeezers' because they are meant to be squeezed up in the hand.

To resume the consideration of strictures in another sense. Commentators' notes are often contradictory, which is puzzling to the youthful mind. In their notes on *Georg.* I. 328-334 both P. and PH. quote with approval Kennedy's note on the passage, a kind of criticism which is now, I trust, a thing of the past. Having been told by Kennedy that 'ille' and the thrice repeated 'aut' expresses the 'majestic ease of omnipotence,' the unhappy student is then informed by both commentators that in line 329 'molitur' expresses 'effort.' If the boy thinks at all it must strike him that 'majestic ease of omnipotence' and effort are incompatible.

To turn to more general matters in the teaching of the classics. Are boys who learn Latin now confined as they were in my school time to Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Livy, Caesar, and Tacitus? At Winchester, I learn from a contemporary, they also read Catullus and Pliny's letters. I do not think that most of us at Eton had any idea that the great Latin authors were men of like passions with ourselves, who wrote literature such as Shakespeare, Macaulay, Napier, Herrick, and Milton wrote. We had no idea that Horace was a kind of combination of a poet-laureate and Prior or Praed, and not merely a juggler with metres. None of us realised that Latin was a living spoken tongue not merely in Roman times, but for some 1,600 years after the Christian era. I am sure that if boys were given passages from some of the late Roman authors, such as Statius's poem on 'Sleep,' Rutilius' panegyric on 'Rome,' where an intelligent teacher could point out the similarities between the Roman and the British Empires, and in addition passages from the mediaeval and renaissance writers, it would familiarise them with Latin forms, and they would realise that Latin

literature is not only a matter of 'periods,' 'hypermetric lines,' 'hendiadys,' 'oratio obliqua,' and all the other fetters of grammarians. If a boy were allowed to read some of the mediaeval pilgrim journals—e.g. *The Evagatorium* of Fabri or a Renaissance Latin book like Caius' *De Canibus Britannicis*, he would take much more interest in his Latin. All boys are made to read the Greek Testament; why should they not be given passages from the Vulgate? Mediaeval Latin is not classical Latin, but Alexandrian Greek is not classical Greek. What is necessary is that boys should understand that Latin is not only a grammatical exercise. In Greek the matter stands on a different footing, for no one can read Homer, even the merest tyro, without feeling that his poems are real living literature.

One other point: do boys at school still do Latin verse, and, if so, are they confined in elegiacs to the 'dissyllabic' pentameter? This was a strict rule in my time, but I never could see, and cannot see now, why a boy should not be allowed to write a couplet metrically like, if like in no other respect:

Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis
contactum nullis ante cupidinibus.

or a spondaic hexameter such as:

Sunt apud infernos tot milia formosarum.

The reform of classical teaching is to-day very much to the fore. I have been unable to follow the controversy thoroughly, though I have read with great interest Mr. Livingstone's excellent *Defence of Classical Education*. But what I have read of the matter inclines me to the belief that the views put forward are mainly those of teachers, and it is with the desire of making known the views of at least one learner that I have written these lines.

I may add one piece of information, which took me a long time to obtain, and that is that there is a simple account of the meaning of the risings and settings of stars to be found in Autolycus' *De Ortubus et Occasibus* (Greek and Latin, Teubner, 1885). There is also an excellent passage on the same subject in Mr. A. W. Mair's edition of Hesiod (Oxford translations).

H. P. CHOLMELEY.

NOTES

HERODOTUS III. 104.

IN describing the climate of the Indus Valley, Herodotus says: θερμότατος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἥλιος τουτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι τὸ ἐωθινόν, οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις μεσαμβρίας, ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὐ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καίει πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτω ὥστε ἐν ὕδατι λόγος αὐτοῦς ἐστι βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα.

This story has been generally discredited by commentators, and Herodotus' assertion that the noontide heat outpaced the sun like a summer-time clock has been taken as evidence that he had utterly mistaken notions of the shape of the earth and the sun's daily course.¹

But a parallel to Herodotus' tale has

been supplied by Rawlinson,¹ who quotes a modern travel description relating to the Niti valley in the central Himalayas. In this country an intensely hot wind blows in the morning but abates in the afternoon, thus sending the thermometer to its highest point in the early part of the day.

A similar story is told by a mediaeval explorer: whose reputation for truthfulness stands high. Speaking of the climate of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, Marco Polo says: 'During the summer season the inhabitants do not remain in the city, but retire to their gardens along the shore or on the banks of the river, where with a kind of osier-work they construct huts over the water. . . . Here they reside during the period in which there blows, every day from about the hour of nine until noon, a land-wind so intensely hot as to impede respiration,

¹ See Blakesley, Sayce, Stein, and How and Wells *ad loc.*

¹ *Herodotus*, vol. II. p. 493 n. 9.

and to occasion death by suffocating the person exposed to it. None can escape from its effects who are overtaken by it on the sandy plain. *As soon as the approach of this wind is perceived by the inhabitants, they immerse themselves to the chin in water, and continue in that situation until it ceases to blow.*¹

These variations from the normal curve of temperature are of course due to special local conditions, and Herodotus was mistaken in transferring them to the Indus valley. But his story is not a mere invention, based on a calamitous ignorance of geography and astronomy. It has a solid foundation of truth, and errs merely in accuracy of detail.

The tale about the Indians protecting themselves against the heat by putting themselves to soak after the fashion of mediaeval penitents has usually passed unchallenged. But Professor Sayce has condemned it along with all the rest of the narrative,² and Herodotus himself evidently had misgivings about it, for he represents it merely as 'λόγος.' Nevertheless, this part of his story is amply borne out in later records of travel. Too much weight indeed need not be assigned to the recurrence of this yarn in Sir John de Mandeville's description of the 'Ethiopians and Indians,'³ for this may be no more than a plagiarism on the Greek historian. But the passage quoted above from Marco Polo is based on autopsy, and supplies independent testimony in favour of Herodotus. Furthermore, recent editors of the Venetian traveller have discovered the same story of compulsory bathing in the works of various modern explorers ranging from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.⁴ These accounts prove that the custom mentioned by Herodotus obtains not only at Ormuz, but in Sind, *i.e.* the very country to which Herodotus refers it. This part of his story may therefore be accepted as perfectly correct.

M. CARY.

University of London.

STATIUS, *SILVAE* I. vi. 7, 8.

adsint, dum refero diem beatum
laeti Caesaris ebriamque † parcen.†

So Professor Phillimore in the Oxford Text prints the lines described by Klotz as *locus desperatissimus*. Professor Phillimore's own conjecture, *aparchen*, he relegates to the *apparatus criticus*; it is the closest to the reading of M, and gives a good sense, but is apparently not quoted from any Latin author. A Greek word, as Vollmer and others have seen, is the best explanation of M's *parcen*. Thomson's *noctem* was printed by Markland and many succeeding editors, and is supported by the general sense, as well as by the reference at the end of the *Praefatio*, *noctem illam felicissimam*, etc., and by line 97 of the poem :

in serum trahor ebrius soporem.

However, Professor Slater (*Journ. of Phil.* XXX. pp. 146-7) seems right in saying that *noctem* is palaeographically impossible. He would read

diem beatam
laeti Caesaris ebriumque *Circum*

quoting Suet. *Dom.* 4, to prove that Domitian gave *spectacula* in the circus as well as in the amphitheatre. He thinks that 'the one word absolutely essential is a word to indicate the scene of the carnival, and anticipate the (otherwise) abrupt allusion to the *linea* in the next verse but one.' It would appear to me, in the first place, that it would be unnecessary to mention the spot by name, as all Rome had just assisted at the festival, and, in the second, that it is, at least, more likely that the scene of a celebration of such magnificence was the amphitheatre.¹

I should like to keep Professor Slater's *beatam*, and to propose very diffidently the reading,

diem beatam
laeti Caesaris ebriamque *rapto*.

In Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 317, for *parcere parto*, the Mediceus has *parcere rapto* (probably not right, of course), which

¹ *Travels*, ch. 19.

² N. 1 *ad loc.*

³ *Travels*, ch. 18.

⁴ See the editions of Masefield (p. 65) and Sir Henry Yule (vol. I., p. 119).

¹ See Professor Verrall, 'The Feast of Saturn,' in *Collected Literary Essays*, Cambridge University Press, 1913.

suggests that the transposition of the first three letters would be easy. For the rest, the reading appears to me to be an improvement on the others; it gets rid of the somewhat unpleasing assonance

... diem beatum

... ebriamque noctem (or any other accusative)

at the end of two successive lines.

The sense is satisfactory, and is supported by line 16:

largis gratuitum cadit rabinis,

and lines 79, 80:

desunt qui rapiant, sinus que pleni

gaudent dum nova lucra comparantur,

(where *pleni* has perhaps a suggestion of *ebriam*). *Rapio* would also refer forward to *linea* in line 10,

iam bellaria linea pluebant,

as desiderated by Professor Slater. Martial's lines (viii. 78), on a similar occasion, should be compared, especially lines 7, 8,

*omnis habet sua dona dies : nec linea dives
cessat et in populum multa rapina cadit,*

and line 11:

nunc implere sinus securos gaudet.

In Statius's poem note also *divessparsio* (line 66). What is *sparsio* on the side of the Emperor is *rapina* on the side of the populace, and the event in this double aspect is one of the great features of the day. Statius's fondness for the repetition of words has often been noticed; there are various other instances in this poem, which any reader may observe for himself.

If it is objected that *diem beatam* in line 7 does not correspond to *hic dies* in line 98 (as well as *hunc diem* in line 37), it may be noted that in *Silvae* II. vii. (also Phalaecian) there is in line 1,

Lucani proprium diem frequentet

and in line 20,

vestra este ista dies, favete, Musae.

Also *Silvae* V. iii. 219,

tuus ille dies

230,

illa dies,

and in III. ii. 127,

illa dies.

Doubtless other examples could be quoted.

G. M. HIRST.

Columbia University.

NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES' PAX.

72-3 ἐχθὲς δὲ μετὰ ταύτ' ἐκθαρεῖς οὐκ οὔδ' ὅποι εἰσάγαγ' Ἀιτναίων μέγιστον κύνθαρον.

WHY Ἀιτναίων? The two explanations given by the scholiast may certainly be set aside: (1) that a large species of beetle was found on Etna—a mere inference from the text; (2) that the meaning is 'as big as Etna.' Far more probable is the view that the reference is to the famous horses of Etna (cf. Soph. O.C. 312, Ἀιτνυίας ἐπὶ πώλου βεβῶσαν), and that κύνθαρος is then a πυρὰ προσδοκίαν substitute—possibly for καυθήλιον as van Leeuwen suggests. But there is, I think, no evidence to show that the horses of Etna were a particularly large breed. Is not the allusion simpler, namely to the γηγενεῖς of Sicily, of whom Enceladus, after the battle with the gods, was buried under Etna? The meaning is then simply 'gigantic'; 'Brobdingnagian,' as we might say.

114-7 ὦ πάτερ, ὦ πάτερ, ἄρ' ἐτυμός γε δώμασιν ἡμετέροις φάτις ἦκει, ὡς σὺ μετ' ὀρνίθων προλιπὼν ἐμὲ ἐς κόρακας βαδιεῖ μεταμώνιος;

The words μετ' ὀρνίθων have been generally suspected by the editors, chiefly on the ground of the scholiast's adscript ἀντὶ τοῦ μετὰ ὀρνέων on ἐς κόρακας. Van Leeuwen omits σὺ μετ' ὀρνίθων altogether, and Sharpley would like to read ὡς σὺ μὲν ὀρφανικὴν. Surely the text is not merely good sense as it stands, but μετ' ὀρνίθων is badly needed to anticipate and bring out the point of ἐς κόρακας. Trygaeus is now up in the sky among the real birds, he will soon be going down 'to the crows.' This I take to be the meaning of the scholiast's note: not that ἐς κόρακας is 'equivalent to' μετ' ὀρνέων, which is nonsense, but that ἐς κόρακας is 'in contrast to' μετ' ὀρνίθων: Trygaeus is going 'to the crows instead of up among the birds.' Grammatically the scholiast is not quite accurate, but he has seized the meaning better than the expunging editors.

250 ὦ Σικελία, καὶ σὺ δ' ὡς ἀπόλλυσαι.

Palemos is mixing the salad in his mortar, and throws in, as he mentions each state, either a characteristic produce (garlic for Megara) or a punning

substitute (leeks for Prasiae). It is generally supposed that in this case it is the former—Sicilian cheese (van Leeuwen compares the Sicilian cheese which is the subject of the trial in the *Wasps*, 838, 896 ff.). May it not as likely be a pun on *σίικνος*, 'cucumber,' which in 1001 is one of the products for whose restoration Trygaeus prays in 1001? C. BAILEY.

Balliol College.

THROWING ARROWS.

HOMER, *Odyss.* VIII. 229, Δουρὶ δ' ἀκοντίζω ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος τις οἶστέφ. This, I say, means, 'I can throw a spear farther than any other man can throw an arrow.' It is a perfectly plain and unambiguous line. Why should Homer have the grotesque absurdity thrust upon him of saying, or of meaning, 'I can throw a spear farther than another man can shoot an arrow'? A man can shoot an arrow even, I believe, up to 400 yards. I have seen American Indians practising arrow throwing; they throw them with good force about 60 or 70 yards. Xenophon mentions that his men threw, as javelins, arrows shot against them by the Persians. The practice must have been common in battles. And battles in ancient Greece seem to have been as frequent as strikes in England, so that the allusion would have been readily understood.

Odyss. IV. 442 I always thought a poetical exaggeration until I read a passage in Darwin's *Cruise of the Beagle*, where he relates that he was rowing alongside of some rocks in the Southern Pacific on which seals were lying, crowded together like pigs. Only, he says, pigs would have been ashamed to find themselves in the filth and stench in which the seals lay. It was so bad, I think Darwin says, that he and his men had to fly from it.

Now, in Homer's time, seals were as plentiful in the Mediterranean as in Darwin's time in the South Pacific probably. There are many allusions to them in the classics. And I've no doubt that sailors had told stories about the seals which Homer had heard. So the line is no exaggeration after all.

ON THE SUGGESTION ΠΟΡΚΕΙΑ IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, XV., 20, 29.

THE note in the *Classical Review*, XXXIII., p. 100, calls for some comment. *Πορκεία* is indeed not in Liddell and Scott, and, I am assured on the highest authority, will not be. If there were such a word, it could only mean 'piggishness,' and be an abstract from *πόρκος*, like *μοιχεία* from *μοιχός*, *λαγνεία* from *λάγνος*; and if Greek wished to take the Latin word *porcus*, and form a substantive meaning 'pork,' the form would be *πόρκεια* (sc. *κρέα*), like *ῥεία*, *βόεία*, *πουλυπόδεια*, and the ghastly *παιδείων κρεῶν* in *Agam.* 1593, which mean 'baby,' not, as usually translated, 'his children's flesh.' The fact is, Mr. Gladstone, like the originator of the suggestion, confused the Greek with the Latin way of forming words expressing meats, where the singular feminine is used with *caro* supplied, like *suilla*, *agnina*. But a greater scholar than he is involved. Bentley had already suggested *χοιρείας* in the passages in the Acts (*Critic Sacra*, p. 25). But he did not perpetrate *πορκείας*, though his suggestion is open to the same objection. His words are: 'lege καὶ τῆς χοιρείας pro πορνείας. Glossarium: χοιρεία, "porcina" χοιρεία σάρξ, "lardum"; μοσχεία, "vitulina"; ἀρνεία, "agnina"; vid. LXX.' It is strange that he did not see that there are four mistakes here: three wrong accents, and the phrase *χοιρεία σάρξ*, which is not Greek; for neither classical nor Hellenistic Greek join *σάρξ* with an adjective of this kind. His reference to LXX. must be to Symmachus' rendering in Isaiah lxvi. 17, which he probably read in Montfaucon's edition published in his day, 1713; ἐσθίωντων τὸ κρέας τὸ χοίρειον (Field, *Origenis Hexapl.*, vol. ii., p. 565); the only place in the LXX. in which *χοίρειος* is found, for the adjective used with this meaning in all other places is *ῥείος*.

Who first suggested *πορκείας* I have not discovered. Alford writes in his last edition of the Greek Testament: '*πορκείας* has also been conjectured (probably not by Bentley, as stated in Meyer, *De W.*, and this work, ed. 1.)' Wendt, in Meyer's *Commentar*, says:

πορκέας.' But Wetstein mentions Bentley's conjecture *χορκεας* only, and 'Wetstein is the most likely to be accurate,' Dr. Lock, to whom I owe these last references, tells me. But who it was matters little; for, as Farrar says (*Life of St. Paul*, ch. xxi.), 'there is not the faintest atom of probability in it.'

J. U. POWELL.

*St. John's College,
Oxford.*

AN UNCIAL FRAGMENT OF PLAUTUS.

IN the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for May of this year are two papers by Professor Degering on a parchment leaf in uncial script, containing lines 123-147 (148) 158-182 of the *Cistellaria*. The leaf was sold by a Leipzig second-hand bookseller, Karl W. Hiersemann, to the Berlin Library, where it is now MS. lat. qrt. 784. Degering assigns to it the symbol *N*. Hiersemann's catalogue (No. 462) declared it to have been part of the binding of a twelfth-century MS. of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a MS. which he has now sold. Both the former and the present home of this Ovid MS. seem to be 'wrop in mistry'; but Hiersemann's catalogue (No. 460) cites from it a half-illegible Latin entry with mention of Friuli and of Fontanelle (a town in the Friuli district).

Degering's palaeographical account of the leaf is excellent. The Plautus codex must have been a noble volume of rather larger pages than *A*, but with some 37 lines (*A* has 19) to the page (if we allow two to the Scene-heading) or 38 (if we allow three) or 36 (if we allow one); and—a notable novelty—written in purple ink (the royal tint). The uncial characters seem 'as old as they make them' (Degering provides a good photograph); so we have now three Plautus MSS. of the ancient world, two actual: *A* and *N*, and one hypothetical, *P* (the archetype of *BCDT*).

But Degering's attempt at Ueberlieferungsgeschichte and his 'stemma codicum' are based on the erroneous theory that *A* and *P* are mere transcripts of one archetype. Still he sees

rightly that *N* is nothing but a representative of the 'Palatine' edition. It has lines 126-129 (omitted in *A*); it reads in line 132 *p(er)dit(a) est* (where *A* has *deperit*), in line 144 *suppositionem eius rei* (suppositionemque eius *A*), in line 145 *solae scimus* (*scimus solae A*). Yet it is not without value. Not to mention such trivialities as its *postquam* in line 176 (where by a mere accident of transcription, our minuscule MSS. omit *quam*), it throws some light on the 'Palatine' text in antiquity. For, like our minuscule MSS., it presents line 159 in this form:

Vinulentus, multa nocte, in via,

and line 168 in this:

Ille clam observavit servos.

So long as these torsos could be traced no farther back than the ninth-century parent of our minuscule MSS. (*A* lacks this portion), editors felt themselves at liberty to make regular Senarii out of them:

<Vi>, vinulentus, multa nocte, in via (with a questionable hiatus after *nocte*).

and

III' clam observavit servos <qui eam proiecerat>.

But now that we find them in *two* ancient copies of the 'Palatine' edition, the case is altered. And what of the omission in *N* of *eum* in line 132? Is it an arbitrary alteration by the scribe of *N* (or the corrector of the exemplar of *N*)? Did he (like Professor Degering) think that *eum haec perdit(a) est* 'she was madly in love with him' was an impossible construction for Plautus? Or was it the real 'Palatine' reading, while the *eum* of *P* has come from a suprascript entry of the 'Ambrosian' reading *eum haec deperit*? The last was Seyffert's explanation (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 16, 285). But cf. *Mil.* 1253.

It will take time to think out these problems, but I write at once to prevent the misconception that a 'third recension' of Plautus has been discovered.

W. M. LINDSAY.

*St. Andrew's,
Fife.*

A PASSAGE OF FRONTO

(NABER, p. 203).

PAGE 265 of the Fronto palimpsest has perished entirely except for a few marginal notes, which show that the page had reference to Cato's *Origines*. The writer of these notes was in the habit of repeating (generally verbatim) in the margin words or passages which struck him as noteworthy in the text. One of these notes is given by Naber (after Mai) as follows: '... in navium ... deus al ... in ... tur tuendi eius ergo denominatus.'

Professor Hauler of Vienna reads the same passage thus: '*Rei factae mater natura: in navium apparatu Apollo deus alitis pin<n>as, ut eas effingeret homo, natura tueri dare. Ius ergo de natura. Catus,*' etc.

It is evident that many of the letters have had to be inferred from very slight indications. I suggest that the passage originally ran: '*Rei factae mater natura, in navium apparatus accomodans alitis pinnae, ut eas effingeret homo natura tuenda; remus igitur de natura. Catus,*' etc. Cf. Prop. IV. 6, 47, *classis centenis remiget alis*.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

Grammar School,
Manchester.

NOTES ON LATIN AUTHORS.

LUCILIUS, l. 1266 (ed. Marx):

pro obtuso ore pugil piscinensis reses.

This fragment comes from Festus, p. 213, 5, but in Festus the form of the fifth word is given as *pisciniensis*, and the alteration is due to Turnèbe. As long ago as 1898 I pointed out that the recorded form should be kept in the text, in view of an inscription found at Baiae with the words *embaenitariorum pisciniensium*. Though this note of mine appeared in a German periodical (*Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr.* xi. pp. 130 f.), it was overlooked by Marx. The *i* will not of course disturb the metre, being semi-consonantal. It says much for the purity of the Festus tradition that it should have been preserved. In *Atheniensis*, *Carthaginensis* we have words too well known to be misspelt, but *Hipponiensis* often appears as *Hipponensis*. Compare also with *pisciniensis* the exactly parallel *salmiensis*.

Cicero, *Or. post red. in sen. hab.* § 29 (l. 10, ed. Peterson):

Possum ego satis in Cn. Pompeium umquam gratus uideri?

Probably it was possible for Cicero so to utter this sentence that it would be understood to be a question, but I venture to think that we ought to read: *possum<ne> ego*, etc. Nothing would be easier than for *ne* to fall out between *m* and *e*, and the sentence becomes easier if it be inserted.

Virgil, *Georg.* II. 23-24:

hic plantas tenero abscindens de corpore
matrum
deposuit sulcis, etc.

According to Ribbeck's second edition, all but two of his MSS. give *abscindens*. Those two give *abscidens*, and I think they are right. Does the poet really intend to suggest that the woodman tears off the twigs (that is what *abscindens* means)? Does he not rather mean simply that he cuts them off? In my experience, *abscidere* is often corrupted to *abscindere*, but I recall no instance of the reverse corruption. The later mediaeval scribes seem to have regarded *abscido* as a corruption of *abscindo*.

Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* V. 19:

nec enim umquam uiri mei uidi faciem uel omnino cuiatis sit noui, sed tantum nocturnis subaudiens uocibus maritum incerti status et prorsus lucifugam tolero.

For *subaudiens* read *obaudiens*. Purser's note will show that *subaudiens* is difficult. In fact it is everywhere else in Latin used as a transitive verb, in the same sense as *subintelligere*, namely 'to understand (something that is unexpressed).' Here it is obedience that is wanted. Lest anyone should cavil at the spelling *obaudiens*, let me point out that it is at least as common in good MSS. of late authors as the other spelling *oboediens*, also that it is definitely attested for Apuleius, e.g. III. 15 (p. 63, l. 16, ed. Helm²), *obaudiunt*; also at *dogm. Plat.* p. 1099 (ed. Valpy), the note concerning Brantius suggests that the MSS. of that treatise everywhere spell it so. For the type of error here, compare *iudicii sublatis* of six MSS. (Ps-Aug., *Quaest.* p. 337, l. 1), for *iudiciis oblatis* of two MSS., the latter being the right reading.

REVIEWS

ATTIC RED-FIGURED VASES IN AMERICAN MUSEUMS.

Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums. By J. D. BEAZLEY. Harvard University Press. 30s. net.

THE task of assigning to definite painters some portion of the red-figure Attic vases, which are found in such numbers in almost every museum of classical archaeology, was begun by Hartwig and Klein, and continued with success by Furtwängler and Hauser; but the honour of reducing the whole mass of material to order and of establishing the relations of the various groups of vases thus formed has fallen mainly to J. D. Beazley. The work is a notable one, demanding high scholarship, rare patience, a peculiarly retentive memory, and—what is more rare—an artist's eye. Possessing all these qualities, Beazley has succeeded in forming, on grounds of style, over fifty hitherto unrecognised groups of vases, seeing in each group the hand of a single artist. Further, he has made far-reaching corrections to attributions already made by other scholars, and many additions likewise. He has completely corrected the tendency to give undue attention to the signed vases in preference to the unsigned, by the discovery of anonymous artists possessing merit equal to that of any artist whose signature we possess.

Thanks, therefore, to Beazley in the main (for other scholars have contributed notably to the study), the characteristics of the most important painters of Athenian red-figure vases (down to the Meidias Painter), their relations to each other, in fact the real artistic history of Attic ceramics in the fifth century, have been made clear to any scholar who has a sufficient acquaintance with the material.

In saying this, I assume that Beazley's attributions are in the main right. From such opportunities as I have had of testing a small fraction of them, I can say that they most certainly *are* right—not necessarily all, but by very much the larger number; and I am convinced

that the examination of any impartial scholar will bear me out.

The present book contains very much more than the title leads you to expect. It is, in fact, at once a résumé of Beazley's various articles on vase-artists and the vehicle of a mass of new information of a similar kind. His descriptions of the important red-figure vases in America—interesting and valuable as they are in themselves—are but incidental in the whole book, the object of which is to attribute to their authors or schools most of the important known red-figure Attic vases from the earlier times to the Meidias Painter, and to trace the influence of one school on another.

The bulk of the book is taken up with bare enumerations and attributions of vases, and the remarks on the style and position of the various artists are cut down to the smallest possible compass. In fact, the whole book is exceedingly compressed. But Beazley's criticisms are always illuminating and very much to the point. They have a clear-cut character which leaves in the mind of the reader a vivid differentiation of the various artists. His criticism of Epiktetos that, 'you cannot draw better, you can only draw differently,' gives one at once the right way of thinking about archaic art. The description of the Pan Painter's figures as 'lean, surprising, devilishly elegant,' brings out most successfully their peculiar quality. Equally adequate are his descriptions of tendencies and influences—see the illuminating though brief description of the influence of painting on ceramics on page 142.

Minor objections can be made to some things, to occasional preciosity of style (would the Panaitios Painter have liked to be called an 'admirable anonym'?), to the christening of some of the nameless painters (the 'London Death and Sleep Painter' is certainly rather ludicrous), and to the arbitrary division of all vases into 'cups' and 'pots' (though here the objector should

be prepared to suggest something better).

The illustrations are admirably chosen and well produced. The indices are notably full and adequate.

What, it may be asked, is to be the upshot of these new discoveries in the region of vase-painting? At present, the information about them is possessed by a limited number of specialists alone, though Miss Herford's *Handbook of Greek Vase-Painting* should spread it more widely. One looks forward to the time when black-figure and late Attic vases have been thoroughly classified, and one would like to see a very simple history of Attic pottery written from the artistic side, dealing with the best works of the best artists only—something that would make comprehensible to the generally cultured public the style and position of such artists as, say, the Taleides Painter, the Berlin Master and the painter of the late Attic Peleus and Thetis pelike from Rhodes in the British Museum.

A book of this kind, however, would

not be enough in itself; the museums would have to co-operate. It is to be hoped that directors, who are satisfied with the attributions made by Beazley and others, will group and label their vases accordingly. To label the works of the more important artists only would be quite sufficient as a beginning.

A wider knowledge of Greek vase-painting would be the best thing to counteract the still-existing conception of the average intelligent museum-visitor that Greek art is best represented by the chalk-like Roman copies of Greek sculpture, which fill so much space in many of the museums of Western Europe. Even the ordinary classical student is inclined to labour under the same impression. The intelligent study of Attic vases is an invaluable guide to what the average Athenian and average Athenian art were really like; and for this study the wide dissemination of the discoveries of Beazley and others is of the greatest importance.

E. M. W. T.

A HANDBOOK OF GREEK VASE PAINTING.

A Handbook of Greek Vase Painting.
By M. A. B. HERFORD. Manchester University Press (Longmans, Green and Co.). 9s. 6d. net.

A SHORT book of introduction to the study of Greek vases has long been needed in English, although there is a good little book in German by Buschor. Miss Herford has made a praiseworthy attempt to fill this need. In many points she has succeeded; and at any rate no one can complain that she has not packed a great deal of solid information into a small space. To write a good introduction to so complicated a subject is, however, a very difficult thing, and I think that Miss Herford, by attempting to say too much, has written a book which, by being too technical and by assuming a too high standard of knowledge, is unsuitable for a beginner. It would have been better if she could have resolutely excluded much matter, and arranged the remainder in a better and more easily

comprehensible form. Her obvious interest in and acquaintance with questions of technique has tempted her to give a quite disproportionate space to this side of the study, to the neglect of the historical and artistic side, in which a beginner is more likely to be interested. Had she confined her remarks on technique to Part I., where the general condition of the potter's craft, technique, shapes, etc., are clearly, shortly, and adequately discussed, it would have been much better, but the continuity of Part II. (Historical) is constantly being broken by technical discussions, which leave you with no clear idea of artistic growth—this applies specially to the treatment of Attic red-figure vases. For instance, Chapter VI. begins with a discussion of the transition from black to red-figure technique, in which the name of Andokides is mentioned. It goes on to discuss the use of *καλός*-names, under which heading the popularity of the *kylix* is mentioned, and Andokides,

although he has no connexion with *καλός*-names, is again discussed; and then refers to the *ἐποίησεν* and *ἔγραψεν* questions, which had already been treated in Part I. Such carelessness of arrangement is to be deplored.

The treatment of early vases (Chapter IV.) is clear and sufficient, but that of the latest Attic vases—of the Kertch and Cyrenaica type—and of the South Italian wares is not adequate. It is incorrect, for instance, to say (p. 103) that in the latest Attic wares 'polychromy carried all before it'; in the larger vases of this ware colour is merely an accessory. Nor is it true (p. 108) that of the South Italian wares Lucanian has the greatest affinity to Attic; the Campanian vases which Patroni

attributed to Saticula are generally much closer than average Lucanian work. The 'Pronomos' vase at Naples, figured on Plate 11 as Apulian, is not Apulian, but Attic.

In spite of the faults alluded to, the book is a good guide to technical questions, and is likely to prove a useful handbook to anyone who has already some knowledge of Greek vases.

I have noted one or two misprints: P. 14, 'apotropaic'; p. 88 (note), *ἄσπερος* (for *ἄσπρος*), and *μαυρός* (for *μαῦρος*); Plate 11d, Median (for Meidian). On p. 111, 'Roman rule at Paestum, under the new name of Posidonia,' 'Paestum' and 'Posidonia' have been inverted.

E. M. W. T.

A HANDBOOK OF ATTIC RED-FIGURED VASES.

A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases.

By J. C. HOPPIN. Vol. I. Harvard University Press. 35s. net.

PROFESSOR HOPPIN'S book is, as it were, a dictionary of Attic red-figure vases, comprising every vase which has been attributed to specific vase-painters, but wisely excluding such as have been quoted as being merely in the style of such-and-such a painter. It does not profess to be original, and is, in fact, a very valuable tabulation of all the work that has been done up to the present in grouping and attributing to different hands the mass of red-figure vases.

As further attributions are made, the book will need supplementing, and probably in some degree modifying; but, in spite of this, the date of publication is timely. The fact is that the main work on the vases of the best periods has been completed by Mr. J. D. Beazley—to whom Professor Hoppin pays a just acknowledgment in his Introduction—and it is only the latest Attic vases which await a definite classification. A summing up of results, therefore, is likely now to have something of a permanent value, and archæologists should be grateful to Professor Hoppin for having united in a single book all the scattered information concerning vase attributions.

Professor Hoppin has chosen to make his book primarily one of reference, and has ranged the various artists, under whose names the vases are enumerated, in alphabetical, not in (supposed) chronological, order—quite the most satisfactory classification in a book of this kind. A summary of subjects and shapes is added to the list of works of each artist. It is a little difficult to tell without the indices, which await the publication of Vol. II., how easy it will be to track down single vases—for it is upon the indices that the serviceableness of a book of this kind must largely depend. A museum index of vases (with catalogue numbers) and an index of references to publications would make the book into the handiest possible guide to a complicated and scattered material.

The task of any student who wishes to become acquainted with the best vase-artists of the fifth century will now be immensely facilitated, although the illustrations, numerous though they be, cannot enable one to dispense with the more detailed publications. To the student looking at vases in a museum the book should be a most useful guide.

[It may be noted that on p. 458 the Lewes Collection is wrongly located at Oxford instead of Cambridge.]

E. M. W. T.

GRATTI CYNEGETICON QUAE SUPERSUNT.

Gratti Cynegeticon Quae Supersunt. Cum Prolegomenis, Notis Criticis, Commentario Exegetico. Edidit P. J. ENK, Litt. Class. Doctor. Two volumes. Royal 8vo. Pp. 102 and 153, one plate and seven smaller illustrations. Zutphaniae, apud W. J. Thieme et Cie., 1918.

ON page 5 of the Introduction to this new edition of Grattius we read: 'De Grattii opere volventibus annis diversissime iudicatum est,' and the four pages which follow quote the opinions of scholars of all ages from Scaliger in the sixteenth century to Vollmer in the twentieth. The majority of these criticisms, more particularly those of the older scholars, are favourable, and some are even enthusiastic in their praise; but English writers on Latin literature appear to be unanimous in relegating Grattius to a very humble rank in the company of Roman poets, and this lack of appreciation comes as a surprise to the present editor, who nevertheless takes the opportunity of paying English literary criticism a graceful compliment: 'non placet (sc. Grattius) philologis Britannis; quod non exspectamus, cum eos noverimus tantum non semper poetarum Romanorum aequos callidosque iudices esse.' There is no doubt about the side to which the editor himself belongs; he is a stout champion of his author, and he gallantly and for the most part successfully wards off the more violent attacks that are directed against him. For example, both in his Introduction and in his Commentary, he is at great pains to show that Grattius is not, as some scholars, especially Pierleoni, have sought to prove, a mere slavish imitator of Virgil, 'poetam venaticum raro ipsa Maronis verba in suum transtulisse carmen,' and again in the note on Grattius' description of Vulcan's cave, 'vides Grattium hic quoque, verbis est specus ingens exceptis, alia dare atque Vergilium,' and similarly in other places, see especially the notes on vv. 144, 377, and 410. Pierleoni, we readily concede, has gone to absurd lengths in collecting parallels in Virgil and Grattius, and Curcio also errs in

the same direction; on the other hand, in addition to several almost identical phrases, certain longer passages are in their general features so reminiscent of Virgil as to leave little doubt in the mind of an unbiased observer that Grattius was consciously using his greater contemporary as a model; compare especially the description of Vulcan's cave, *Cyn.* 430-450, with *Aeneid* 6, 236-259, and also *Cyn.* 408 ff. with *Georgics* 3, 441 ff. But the short summing up on page 26 can hardly be termed extravagant in its claims on behalf of Grattius; the editor shows an exemplary restraint in his judgment 'non est magnus poeta, longe posthabendus Vergilio, divino illi vati,' and few will dispute the justice of his complaint 'nimis inique de eo iudicant Pierleoni quique cum eo stant.'

In constructing his text the editor has carefully considered all variant readings and suggested emendations, and on the whole a judicious choice has been made. In v. 142, however, the retention of *generosa* is metrically very harsh; such a lengthening in the unstressed part of the foot is, to say the least, unlikely, and the easy emendation to *generosam*, first suggested by Wernsdorf, is almost certainly correct. Nor is the editor's conjecture *sparsa* for *falsa* in v. 203 likely to find favour; it is very hard to believe that a careful versifier like Grattius ('rei metricae peritissimus,' as the editor himself tells us) could have ended a line with *delige sparsa*. The editor informs us that Grattius usually leaves the quantity of a final short syllable unaltered before two initial consonants in the word following, 'vocalis brevis ante duos consonantes apud Grattium fere nusquam produci-tur'; but in the examples adduced (II. 55), of the two initial consonants the second is invariably the liquid *r*, and to support a proposed reading *delige sparsa* by *sanguinis crescet* or *excernere prava*s reveals a surprising ignorance of the rules of Latin versification.

The Protean variety of shape in which the Latinised names of several scholars masquerade is rather amusing, but at times tends to mystify the reader.

Schenkl appears in the following guises : *H. Schenkl*, *Henricus Schenkl*, *H. Schenklus*, *Henricus Schenklus*, *Schenkelius*, and plain *Schenkl*. On one page we read 'defendit *Vollmer*,' on the next 'interpunxit *Vollmerus*'; similarly '*Postgate* putat,' but '*Postgatus* interpungit.' Again, Vol. I. 34, l. 25 we find *apographum* (acc.), but l. 29 of the same page *apographon* (acc.). In the list of dissertations (I. 39) there is no obvious reason for interposing half a page of other references between different articles by Radermacher and by Curcio.

Against these comparatively trifling blemishes, which a close revision would soon rectify, must be set the many praiseworthy features of this edition. Vol. I. gives us a useful introduction (pp. 1-35) and bibliography (pp. 35-40), a carefully weighed text with good apparatus criticus (pp. 42-72)—'viorum doctorum coniecturas in apparatu critico multo plures commemoravi quam *Vollmerus*' is the editor's claim—and an excellent *index verborum* (pp. 75-100);

Vol. II. contains a very full Commentary (153 pages—the text and apparatus criticus occupy only 30 pages) with copious extracts from ancient and modern authors in illustration of the more difficult technical passages; the different methods of netting and snaring are carefully explained with diagrams and illustrations, and it is obvious that the editor has spared himself no trouble in his search for passages from Latin and Greek writers which can in any way illuminate the text he is expounding. Perhaps it is not altogether unseasonable to call attention to an excursus on rabies (II. 150-152) consisting of a long quotation from Brehm, which gives us a most vivid description of the symptoms of this 'mala atque incondita pestis.'

A few misprints have been noted, I. 23, l. 22 *saepa*, I. 32, l. 9 *flammae*, and II. 70, l. 11, where the reference should be to v. 142 (not v. 144).

G. E. K. BRAUNHOLTZ.

Midllesex Regiment.

THE PARAVIA EDITIONS OF THE MINOR WORKS OF TACITUS.

Cornelii Taciti: (1) *Dialogus de Oratoribus*. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendice critica et indicibus instruxit FRIDERICUS CAROLUS WICK. Pp. xxiv+60. L. 1.50.

(2) *De Vita Julii Agricolae Liber*. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendice critica instruxit CAESAR ANNIBALDI. Accedunt De Cornelio Tacito testimonia uetera a Carolo Pascal conlecta. Pp. xx+54. L. 1.25.

(3) *De Origine et situ Germanorum Liber*. Ad fidem praecipue codicis Aesini recensuit, praefatus est CAESAR ANNIBALDI. Appendicem criticam in Taciti libellum, scriptorum Romanorum de Germanis ueteribus testimonia selecta adiecit Carolus Pascal. Pp. xii+62. L. 1.25.

(Torino: Stamperia Reale di G. B. Paravia e Comp.)

It is particularly appropriate that of the recent Paravia texts of the minor works of Tacitus two should have been edited by Professor Cesare Annibaldi;

for it was he who made the momentous discovery some sixteen years ago of a manuscript at Iesi containing, along with *Dictys Cretensis*, both the *Agricola* and the *Germania*, and including one quaternion considered to be a veritable portion of the *Codex Hersfeldensis* of the ninth or tenth century, the source from which are derived all known manuscripts of the minor works, whether the number be fourteen, as in the case of the *Dialogus*, or only four, as in the case of the *Agricola*. And even those four mark an advance. When Furneaux published his edition of the *Agricola* in 1898, there were available just two manuscripts of the text, both in the Vatican; but within a few years the find at Toledo of the *Codex Toletanus* and at Iesi of the *Aesinus* doubled the witnesses at least numerically, though they did not prove to be independent of the Hersfeld tradition.

These volumes very satisfactorily fulfil the admirable purpose of the

series, which is to provide for Italy at a reasonable price a collection of Latin texts critically revised by scholars of recognised competence. Questions of subject-matter are, therefore, not dealt with except in so far as the general editor of the series, Professor Pascal of Pavia, has added to the *Agricola* a Latin life of the subject of the biography and a collection of the ancient information regarding its author, and has equipped the *Germania* with a most suggestive, because historically illuminating, set of passages testifying to the opinions of the ancient world about the Germans.

As all three works were contained in the *Codex Hersfeldensis*, it is natural that the prefaces should to some extent traverse the same ground, and concern themselves with the history and character of the parent manuscript and its descendants; with Sabbadini's discovery in 1901 of Decembrio's note on the contents of the *Hersfeldensis*, and with the discovery of the *Codex Aesinus*. As regards the date of this latter discovery, it is a remarkable slip that the prefaces (as it were, in neglect of Lord Melbourne's famous advice) do not say the same thing. Wick, *Dialogus*, p. vi, after recording Sabbadini's discovery 'anno 1901 ineunte' goes on to record the find of the *Aesinus* 'insequenti anno,' i.e. 1902. Annibaldi—who as the actual discoverer ought to know—in his *Germania*, p. vii, gives 'MXMII,' presumably for 'MCMII,' but in his *Agricola*, p. vi, 'MCMIII.'

Wick's *praefatio* contains a careful account of the earlier editions and of the chief manuscripts of the *Dialogus*. He also furnishes reasons for his disagreement with Gudeman's opinion that the Hersfeld archetype had few contractions. It is not part of the scheme to discuss the authorship of the work, and yet, as Lipsius' edition is mentioned, allusion might have been made to his doubt concerning its Tacitean origin; in fact, some might be misled as to Lipsius' attitude by the logical implication of 'reliquorum' in the editor's remark, 'tamen ut reliquorum Taciti operum, sic etiam *Dialogi* dignam quae legeretur editionem primus emisit Antuerpiae a. 1574 Iustus Lipsius eam-

que iterum iterumque meliorem fecit.' The problems connected with a first and second gap in the *Dialogus* are alluded to without any pretence at full discussion.

The scale of the volume makes it unreasonable to demand anything like the ample apparatus criticus which Gudeman gives; as it is, the main manuscript variants are adequately reported with a fair number of outstanding emendations. Several conjectures by the editor are incorporated in the text, of which it may be said that some, like *reliquae illae* and *opportune et* for well-known difficulties in chapters 21 and 22, are more deserving of consideration than the counsel of despair which prompts for the much amended *sicut his . . . clam* in chapter 26 the bare substitution of *uox*. One cannot choose but wish that the letters denoting the MSS. of the same text could be fixed, so as to simplify what may be called the algebra of the critical apparatus in comparing different editions. As things are, Gudeman's A = Wick's B; and Wick's C = Gudeman's D. A good deal of needless focusing and refocusing is the result of the present variation of *sigla*.

Annibaldi's attitude to his text is more conservative than Wick's to his. This follows inevitably from Annibaldi's belief that the *Aesinus* is for part of the *Agricola* actually the *Hersfeldensis*, and that the rest of the *Agricola* and the whole of the *Germania* were copied direct from the *Hersfeldensis*—a view which Wissowa does not hold. Annibaldi agrees, therefore, with Sabbadini 'che nel codice Esino i critici dovranno pur riconoscere come il massimo sostegno del testo e quale unico apografo diretto dell' archetipo hersfeldese.' He regards the *Toletanus* as a copy of the *Aesinus*. Consequently these MSS., E and T, have for him a preponderating value, and he states in a note prefixed to the *Agricola*, 'hoc curauimus ut ab illo uetustissimo Aesino libro . . . nisi cum necessitas cogeret, nunquam cederemus.' And certainly it is of interest to observe how often E and T confirm old emendations proposed on the readings of the other two MSS. Thus, in *Agr.* 15, 5, their *felicibus* sup-

plies the need felt by Acidalius in conjecturing *integrīs*; at 17, 3, *subiit* written above the line in E is a corroboration of a suggested insertion by Halm to account for the *-que* in *sustinitque*; 18, 4, ET confirm, if confirmation be necessary, Gronovius' change of *dubiis* to *subitis*; 18, 5, the reading of E, *patrius*, proves Puteolanus right; and 19, 1, *iniuriae* of ET justifies Puteolanus' alteration of *incuriae*.

Without making extravagant demands on space, more of the best emendations might well have been reported where the text is specially troublesome: e.g. *Agr.* 6, 4, Lipsius' *moderationis* for *medio rationis*; and 9, 3, *amaritiem* for *auaritiā*. In 15, 3, the record of the two MSS. readings *manum* and *manus* is hardly sufficient help in a passage which has exercised the minds of many commentators; and at 19, 4, where, for the familiar crux *ac ludere pretio* in AB, Wex's conjecture *ac luere* is supported by ET, one would have welcomed mention of such conjectures as *ac liceri*, *ac recludere*, and *auctiore*. At 31, 5, for the impossible *in paenitentiam laturi* only Wölfflin's *in patientiam bellaturi* is recorded; and in 42, 5, *escendere* for *excedere* decidedly requires a comment that it was Lipsius' suggestion. This reticence is especially noticeable in the two cruces of chapter 28, where the note on *remigante* proceeds to the rather too summary dismissal '*alia alii conati*

sunt,' and that on the '*locus insana-bilis*' *tad aquam atque ut illa raptis se*, after recording Halm's and Nipperdey's prescriptions, concludes '*cetera uirorum doctorum conamina omittimus*.' Probably even a junior student wants more food than to be told elsewhere '*per-multi alii in diuersa abierunt*.'

The ancient *testimonia* as to Tacitus' life and writings will be found very useful, although a chronological order of sources might have been even more instructive than the alphabetical. Since the whole of the letters addressed by Pliny to Tacitus, and not merely those in which Tacitus' name occurs, may be held to constitute *testimonia* in a sense, a list of the letters to Tacitus is judiciously added to the quotations. By some curious oversight, however, Pliny VII. 33 is omitted. The editors are to be congratulated on the proof-reading in general. Among a few slight errors noticed are *longiquitas*, *Agr.* 31; *ad decus* for *ac decus*, *Agr.* 33; and *expunta* on p. 37 of the apparatus criticus. In the critical note on *Agr.* 18 '*patrius* EB Puteolanus; *prius* A; *prius* B; *proprius* Wex,' one guesses that EB is wrong for ET, for B is reported in the same note to read *prius*.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

Armstrong College,
University of Durham,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

BOETHIUS.

Boethius, The Theological Treatises, with an English Translation by H. F. STEWART, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and E. K. RAND, Ph.D., Professor of Latin in Harvard University. *The Consolation of Philosophy*, with the English Translation of 'L.T.' (1609). Loeb Classical Library. One vol. Pp. xiv+420. London: William Heinemann, 1919. 7s. 6d. net.

THE wisdom of including Boethius among the volumes of the Loeb Classical Library is fully justified by the issue of this admirable edition, which, besides

the *Philosophiae Consolatio* (in which Philosophy, as a comely woman, holds converse with Boethius), contains the five brief theological treatises which are now, we believe, translated for the first time. The familiar dialogue, with the thirty-nine poems in a variety of metres, invests the *Consolatio* with peculiar interest. It contains so much that is beautiful in sentiment that the reader is instinctively moved to claim for it a more exalted place than its theistic colouring would seem to warrant. Without a trace of direct Christian doctrine, it yet abounds in religious suggestiveness; it is, in short, a philosophy that

is dominated by something greater than itself. There is an undercurrent which may be fitly described as a stream of Christian influence that is content to flow without positively asserting itself. It is a philosophy that believes in the efficacy of prayer and the workings of divine providence—elements that minister to the consolation of the distressed. It is interesting to follow out the relationship of a philosophy that sees God to be all in all, to the Christian theology as laid down in the *Tractates*, which addresses itself to the faith as well as to the intellect. The consolation derived from philosophy develops a theory that rises to the supreme height of face-to-face recognition of the Infinite, and places absolute dependence on the verities of religion, so that we may say the one forms the complement of the other, the faculty of the understanding being actively employed in the unravelling of divine mysteries. While the *Consolatio* sets forward a philosophy calculated to banish sorrow, the *Tractates* are to be distinguished as centralising in a philosophy that concerns itself with a higher sphere. Hence we welcome the combined contents of the volume before us. The much-debated question as to whether Boethius was, at the time of writing the *Consolatio*, a professed Christian will doubtless continue to disturb some minds; the exclusion, however, of definite statements as to Christian faith and practice need not be held to convey the idea of abstention therefrom, when, for aught we know, prudence may have called for momentary reserve. The design of the *Consolatio* was, doubtless, viewed from a standpoint with which we are unacquainted, yet, at all events, it may be said to approach the domain of the faith that inspires a Christian. The philosophic system that engrossed the attention of Boethius is deduced in the main from the tenets of Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle, which has caused him to be regarded as a Stoic rather than a Christian. He certainly draws largely upon these sources, but he is to a great extent his own interpreter. Several passages in his poems are reminiscent of Latin authors, while one of the most delightful of his sets of verses (accom-

panied by an equally dignified translation) is founded on the first part of Plato's *Timæus*; indeed, two whole chapters in Book IV. are a kind of paraphrase of the *Gorgias*.

The text of the *Consolatio* used by Dr. Rand is based upon the investigations of the best authorities, with whose labours he is familiar. The production of the *Opuscula Sacra* in the form here presented is in every way a distinct gain to classical and theological literature; they exhibit constructive reasoning and a deep insight of a very high order. Boethius is eminent among scholastic theologians in elucidating those nice distinctions that distracted the minds of Christian controversialists in the days of the Arian feuds. On the assumption, mainly, that the Christian element is altogether wanting in the *Consolatio*, the authenticity of these theological treatises (dedicated respectively to Boethius' father-in-law and to John the Deacon) has been questioned, but on insufficient grounds. The controverted point has now, we may assume, been definitely set at rest by the confirmatory evidence of a fragment of Cassiodorus, in which certain of these tracts are positively ascribed to his friend Boethius. But apart from this discovery, internal evidence seems to support the authorship of Boethius. A connection between the diverse writings of our author exists in the true conception of God, as set out in the *Consolatio*, when viewed side by side with the presentation in the *Tractates* of the One in whom unity centres and all fulness dwells. The divinity formulated in the philosophy of Boethius, while it rises to a sublime height in the *Consolatio*, only attains the summit in the clearer revelation of the attributes of the divine personality portrayed in the *Tractates*. These latter were written in the earlier years of Boethius' life. As precise statements of cherished Christian dogma, designed to counteract the errors of Arius and others, they furnish us with a clear insight into the sublimities of the Catholic faith. These views were certainly brought prominently forward, and the contentions of Boethius for the faith gave strength to the movement. In his theological

treatises, based in large measure on the writings of St. Augustine, Boethius freely adopted the current terms employed in the controversy, e.g. *substantia* (ὑπόστασις), *persona* (πρόσωπον), *subsistentia*, *essentia* (οὐσία), etc., but with some perplexing variations probably due to Aristotelian influence. His definition of *persona*, 'naturae rationabilis individua substantia,' was received by St. Thomas and the Schoolmen as classical. The *Consolatio* clearly had another object and purpose in view than Christian propaganda; faith and reason must for the nonce be regarded apart, after the manner of the Schoolmen. Written as life was closing, in the solitude of his prison, Boethius may even have deemed it advisable, for purposes we fail to recognise, to do more than regard the philosophical side of life. This could be effected without disparagement of the higher Christian teaching, without ignoring or slighting it. In the lofty utterances of the *Consolatio*, wherein foundation truths are enforced in respect of man's relationship to God, there may be found a ready means of access to higher things. Certainly the metaphysical theology of Boethius—his attempt to enable the finite mind to grasp the Infinite—is at once stimulating and progressive. The Tractates are altogether on a different level, but the process of reasoning is not dissimilar, and we arrive at the conclusion that the philosophy of consolation and the dictates embodied in the Christian religion are one and the same, in principle and purpose, and are directed to a like end. The combination of the Tractates in one volume with the *Consolatio* appears to us highly judicious, emphasising not only the individuality of the writer, but marking the interdependence of the several works, the one upon the other. No other works of Boethius would need to be put to such a test. Certain it is that the philosophical consolation advanced by him is far in advance of any system of the ancients that preceded him. Although there is no trace of Christian doctrine in the *Consolatio*, it abounds in religious suggestiveness that is very comprehensive, while its beautiful and

impressive language glows with a fervour that is all-embracing.

Dr. Stewart has translated the Tractates with singular felicity. The task, by no means an easy one, has been accomplished with exceptional vigour and grace. In regard to the *Consolatio*, choice has been made of the excellent translation which appeared in 1609, bearing the initials 'L.T.' It is bold and clear, and the verse portions delightful. It is not the first time that the *Consolation* has appeared in an edition having the Latin and an English translation side by side, on the plan adopted in the Loeb series. *The Comforte of Philosophie, or Wysdome moche Necessary for All Men to Read and Know* was in a similar form. It was the work of George Colville, printed partly in black letter in 1556 by John Cawoode, and dedicated to Queen Mary. The *Consolation*, as translated by Chaucer, printed by Caxton, also appeared (in a somewhat attenuated dress) in Latin and English; only a few lines of the Latin verse in each section are given, the entire period following in the English prose translation, accompanied by a rendering of the text. Chaucer's words associated with the title are significant: 'In this Book are handled high and hard obscure Points—viz. The Purveyance of God, the Force of Destiny, the Freedom of our Wills, and the Infallible Prescience of the Almighty; and that the Contemplation of God Himself is our *Summum Bonum*.' The varied descriptions of the *Consolation* by different editors and translators is quite remarkable, and goes far to establish the wide acceptance of the work. The popularity of Boethius is fully attested by the very numerous MSS. and printed editions, particularly the *Consolation*, which as 'a golden volume not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully' (Gibbon), will assuredly retain its reputation in the world of letters as a sterling classic and a storehouse of wise counsel. As an illustration of the quality of the translation of 'L.T.,' the following passage, taken at random, which is indicative of Boethius' attachment to music (uttered under stress of adversity), may be quoted:

'Musica laris nostri uernacula nunc leuiores nunc grauiores modos succinat' ('Let music, a little slave belonging to our house, chant sometime lighter and sometime sadder notes').

It is a cause for regret that the editors have made no attempt to supply a bibliography (one of the usual features that distinguish the Loeb volumes). We are well aware of the exacting nature of such a task, but in regard to

the works of Boethius it seems to be specially called for. The Introduction is brief, and the footnotes throughout the volume, although somewhat slight, are useful, particularly where the relevancy of a passage corresponding to related statements need to be emphasised. We have observed but one error (p. 15, l. 18), where 'sun' is a misprint for 'Son.'

C. H. EVELYN-WHITE.

SHORT NOTICES

Patriotic Poetry, Greek and English. By W. RHYS ROBERTS, Litt.D. Pp. vii-135. London: John Murray. 3s. 6d. net.

THIS small but very stimulating volume is an expansion of an address delivered on the Feast of St. Crispin, 1915 (the five-hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Agincourt), to the Literary and Historical Society of Leeds University, and to the boys of St. Peter's School, York. Taking as his text the well-known lines in the *Persians* of Aeschylus,

ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἔτε,
ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρῶν ἔδην
θῆκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.

and reminding his hearers that 1915 happens to be a year of centenaries of events of the greatest significance in the history of the nations, Professor Rhys Roberts gives an admirable survey of the patriotic element in Greek and English poetry in general, together with a more specific notice of that element in Homer, Aeschylus, and Shakespeare. Having first illustrated the inner meaning of the word 'patriotism,' and described the attitude of such representative patriots as Achilles and Henry V. towards the country of their birth, the lecturer proceeds to show how the basic national ideals for which the Greeks fought at Salamis were not essentially different from those for which the British nation has been fighting during the Great European War, and how the results which we fervently hope will accrue from our

victory—namely, Peace, Humanity, and Progress—are exactly those to which Aeschylus looked forward after the repulse of the Barbarians twenty-four centuries ago.

Delivered as this lecture was during the dark days of 1915, when the shadow of Loos was looming over the land and our Cause did not seem to be prospering, it must have given renewed confidence and inspiration to those whose privilege it was to hear it. Professor Roberts obviously felt that at such a crisis he was called upon to do something more than give his hearers a mass of instructive and interesting information, that it was his duty to 'stablish his brethren' in their hour of trial by reminding them of the glorious British traditions of service and sacrifice enshrined in our national literature, and to convey to them a message of hope from those war-tried heroes of old time, who, being dead, yet speak to us still from the pages of the Ancient Classics. The theme which he has chosen allows him an excellent opportunity of giving full play to his native Celtic eloquence, and, if one may say so, he is in a position of great advantage in that he is a Welshman, not an Englishman—he can extol the English ideal to an extent to which an average Englishman, through very shyness, could not bring himself to glorify it. Although the war is now happily ended, this 'war-time book' cannot by any means be said to have outlived its usefulness. Whatever contributes towards inculcating healthy national ideals in

face of the growing menace of a decadent internationalism will be welcomed by patriotic Britons for many years to come.

There are copious references throughout the book, and the reader will find the fifty pages of supplementary notes most illuminating. T.

The Neo-Platonists. By THOMAS WHITTAKER. (Second Edition). One volume. 8vo. Pp. xv+318. Cambridge: University Press, 1918. 12s. net.

IN this second edition Mr. Whittaker has added to the value of his well-known work by a considerable Supplement of nearly 100 pages dealing with Proclus. Taking advantage of the recent Teubner texts of the *Commentaries*, Mr. Whittaker gives a careful and lucid summary of their contents, aiming to bring out the 'real originality and historical importance' of the Athenian School as represented by its most conspicuous teacher. This skilful exposition should do much to redeem the reputation of Proclus from the charge—too lightly brought, and too readily believed by critics at second-hand—that he was merely a scholastic commentator, erudite indeed but lacking in original ability. New matter is also presented in the Appendix on 'The Gnostics,' Mr. Whittaker having modified his view of the relation of Gnosticism to Christianity in the light of more recent studies, such as those of Reitzenstein. Altogether, the work in its new form should prove doubly welcome to all students of ancient thought.

R. G. B.

Manuel des Etudes grecques et latines. Par L. LAURAND. Fascicule IV.: Géographie, Histoire, Institutions romaines, 1917; Fascicule V.: Littérature latine, 1918. Paris: Auguste Picard. Each 2fr. sewn; 3fr. in boards.

PROFESSOR LAURAND, who is honourably known for his studies in Ciceronian

style and rhythm, is issuing in eight parts, totalling about 800 pages, a comprehensive handbook of classical culture. The first three numbers, which treat of Greek subjects, do not seem to have been noticed in this Review; Part VI. will deal with Latin grammar, Part VII. with metres and certain other subordinate subjects; while Part VIII. will contain full indices. The present two numbers contain pages 379-622 of the whole work. We are not attracted by such 'peptonised' learning, nor is it likely to help greatly any class of students. But it is concise, accurate, up-to-date, and correctly printed. To English readers the only interest will lie in the bibliographies, which are very full for a work of this size, and will probably suggest some French works hitherto unknown to most. The lists of English works given are good, though sometimes curiously incomplete: e.g. under Tacitus Furneaux' *Agricola* is omitted, though his *Germania* is named.

E. E. GENNER.

Jesus College,
Oxford.

Translations of Early Documents. (I.) *The Book of Jubilees, or, The Little Genesis.* Translated from the Ethiopic by R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D., with an Introduction by G. H. Box. Pp. 224. S.P.C.K. 4s. net. (II.) *The Apocalypse of Ezra.* Translated from the Syriac, with brief annotations by G. H. Box. Pp. 115. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d. net. (III.) *The Apocalypse of Abraham.* Edited, with a translation from the Slavonic, and Notes, by G. H. Box and J. I. LANDSMAN. Also, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, by R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D., with an Introduction by G. H. Box. Pp. 162. S.P.C.K. 4s. 6d. net.

THESE Hellenistic and Palestinian Jewish documents have much in common. Designed as they are to give effect to the study of Christian origins, they have a special value and importance. The authors of these pseudepigraphic writings probably sought by the free use of the names they bear to amplify and embellish the sacred

story in such a way as to create and maintain what may have been regarded as a waning interest in the Divine revelation. (I.) *The Book of Jubilees* is so called from a division into jubilee periods of forty-nine years of a revelation said to have been given to Moses through the medium of an angel. The subtitle is due to the narrative largely corresponding to that in the Book of Genesis. The matter is singularly diversified with all manner of fable and legend, angelology and demonology, including a plea for the re-constitution of the calendar, then a subject of controversy. The original was possibly the work of a Hebrew priest who wrote either towards the close of the second century B.C., or at latest in the first century of our era, and expresses the opinions of a large and influential section of the Jewish people. The Ethiopic and Latin versions are based upon a Greek text. Dr. Charles' translation (first published in 1902) is grounded upon all the known MSS. (II.) *The Apocalypse of Ezra* (2 Esdras iii.-xiv.) is now only extant in Latin and Oriental translations, severally based upon a non-existing Greek version from a lost Hebrew text, possibly of early second-century date. The appended notes are of considerable in-

terest. (III.) *The Apocalypse of Abraham* has been preserved in old Slavonic literature, the oldest MS. (*Codex Sylvester*), taken from the Greek, being now in the library of the Holy Synod in Moscow, and is of fourteenth-century date. The Apocalyptic section rests upon the story of Abraham's sacrifice and trance. *The Ascension of Isaiah* appeared in a translation from the original Greek in 1900, with Dr. Charles' interpretation and criticism; the principal extant version is Ethiopic. There is a remarkable description of the seven heavens. These pseudepigraphical writings seem to have found their way into Russia at an early date. They contain much that is curious, and strange are the inferences drawn from the canonical books. A prevailing pessimistic view of the world in most of these documents doubtless reflects the then popular Jewish feeling.

BOLSHEVISM.

χαίρετω εὐνομίη καλὰ τ' ἦθεα· πολλὰ δ' εὖ μιν οὖρ
 δῆμῳ συμμαχέουσ' ἀρπαγαὶ ἤδ' ἐφόροι.

T. C. WEATHERHEAD.

OBITUARY

PROFESSOR F. HAVERFIELD.

PROFESSOR HAVERFIELD'S sudden death on October 1 is a heavy loss to Roman studies in England, and in particular to the study of Roman Britain. We cannot write over him *Felix opportunitate mortis*. He was not far past the prime of life, his powers and his knowledge were mature, his work was far from done. The illness which overtook him at the end of 1915 abated his natural force, but did not impair his mental powers nor weaken his intellectual interests. He even began new pieces of work, including a guide to the Roman Wall (would that he could have finished it!); but the times were unfavourable to serious

learned work, and the horrors of the war—the shattering of ideals, the severance of old friendships, the loss of dear friends, the break-up of University life, the long years of anxiety—all told severely upon him.

He had a strong individuality and a forceful personality. Warm-hearted, generous, and loyal, he was direct and incisive in thought and speech, and in earlier life his candour was apt to express itself in brusqueness of manner when he encountered sham or pretentiousness or other kinds of foolishness, but he bore no malice: *honestius putabat offendere quam odisse*. He was as shrewd in practical life as in his

learned work; a striking tribute was paid in 1908 to his sanity and independence of judgment when he was returned as a member of the Hebdomadal Council in defiance of all the caucuses.

It was characteristic of him to leave Oxford in 1884 without any special reputation (ability tends to go only where interest draws it), and to have established his name as a Roman historian before 1891, when he was invited to take up the teaching of Roman history in Christ Church. During his seven or eight years of schoolmastering he found his real work, and used his holidays to lay deep the foundations of his unrivalled knowledge of Romano-British antiquities. But he did not stop there. Knowing that the work of the Romans in Britain could not be understood nor appreciated without a thorough knowledge of the Empire and its civilisation as a whole, he set himself to get such knowledge at first hand by extensive travel in Europe as far as the recesses of the Carpathians. Coming into contact with Mommsen, he was invited to take charge of the Roman epigraphy of Britain for the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions, which had till then been in Huebner's hands. His first contribution to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* was ready in 1889, his last was finished in 1912.

Round this commission developed his study of Roman Britain. He carried it on in the intervals of college duties, both educational and administrative, and the value of his work was publicly recognised before he was elected in 1907 to the Camden Professorship by his appointment as Rhind Lecturer in Scotland (1905-6) and as Ford Lecturer in Oxford (1906-7). His special work—not always appreciated and sometimes depreciated as 'specialism' even by University teachers—gave to all his teaching and writing that firm grip and that note of reality which are denied to men of mere book-learning. Partly to this he owed his great success as a lecturer, partly to his concise and almost Tacitean style, partly to the fact that he knew better than to fling exhaustive discourses,

references and all, at the heads of his hearers. In lectures, as in business, he went straight to the heart of things.

His great service to history is that he put the story of Roman rule in Britain on a sure basis, introducing science where sciolism had reigned. Before his time, in his own trenchant words, 'prae ceteris hos nostros (antiquarios) scribendi quoddam cacoethes invasit. Eduntur societatum archaeologicarum acta, transactiones sive memorias quas vocant, rudis indigestaeque moles et sepulchro potius archaeologiae quam monumento futura.' Besides his own learned work, he did much to educate and stimulate local antiquaries, who responded by making him President of many of their societies. He was also the moving spirit in the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. His literary output was considerable, but the mass of it is scattered (and buried) in learned periodicals. It is a bitter disappointment that his Ford Lectures, so highly appreciated as they were, did not lead to the publication of a comprehensive account of Roman Britain. The hope may still be cherished that these Lectures will see the light: later discovery has not materially affected them. The small volumes on the *Romanisation of Roman Britain*, first published in 1905 and now in its third edition, on the *Military Aspects of Roman Wales* (1910), and on *Ancient Town-Planning* (1913), are all models of precise, terse, and lucid exposition, bright in style and balanced in judgment. His other numerous monographs on Roman History and Roman Britain would make up several volumes. It is highly desirable that the more important of these, particularly the admirable accounts of Roman towns contributed to the *Victoria County History* and to learned journals, should be brought together. They would furnish a good picture of the development of town life, and go far to lessen the void which the author's great knowledge alone could have adequately filled.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

B. B. ROGERS.

A SPECIAL tribute is due to the memory of Benjamin Bickley Rogers, M.A., Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, and Barrister-at-law, who throughout a long and busy professional life never abandoned his early-chosen literary work. So far back as 1852 he published his translation of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, and finally completed his great edition of all the surviving comedies with the second edition of the same play in 1915.

It would hardly be possible to praise too highly his achievement as a translator. At first it was the custom for reviewers of his books as they appeared, play after play, to say that he was a good second to Frere. In reality his versions are incomparably superior in every point. They possess an extraordinary spirit and vigour, and possibly in this minor but, of course, essential respect Frere may be his equal. But in poetical power, in metrical resource, in delicacy of touch and melodious phrasing, in depth of appreciation, closeness of rendering, terse command of language, and every attribute of high scholarship, Mr. Rogers strands pre-eminent: Frere is not in the field. For English readers, whether acquainted or unacquainted with Greek, Mr. Rogers has produced the one and only version of Aristophanes.

To his competence as a commentator and critic his notes bear amplest witness. He was conservative in the best sense in his treatment of the text, making few alterations of his own, ever intolerant of nonsense, and criticising with unfailing perspicacity, lucidity, and humour the suggestions and opinions of others. He could not pen a dull

line. It has even been said that his critical appendices were the most attractive and interesting part of his books.

He wrote admirable Introductions to the several plays, and all with a charm of manner and style peculiarly his own. He highly appreciated the great English critics to whose penetration and judgment the received text owes so great a debt—Bentley, Porson, Elmsley, Dawes, Tyrwhitt, Dobree, etc.—nor did he fail to make use of more recent criticism whenever it appeared. With the wilder flights, however, of the modern destructive Higher Criticism, as it calls itself, he had little sympathy. 'It has,' he says in his appendix to the *Peace*, 'dealt gently with the old Attic Comedy. No one has yet discovered that a play of Aristophanes is a thing of shreds and patches put together by the order of Peisistratus; or that it was composed by Lord Bacon, or in the days of the Maccabees. Doubtless these things will come in good time; else how will the professorial mind amuse itself in all the centuries to be?'

I cannot do better than close with a single typical specimen of Mr. Rogers' work:

Wasps, 1051-9:

But O for the future, my masters, pray;
Show more regard for a genuine bard
Who is ever inventing amusements new
And fresh discoveries, all for you.
Make much of his play, and store it away,
And into your wardrobes throw it
With the citrons sweet: and if this you do,
Your clothes will be fragrant, the whole year
through,
With the volatile wit of the Poet.

T. L. AGAR.

NOTES AND NEWS

Discovery, a new monthly periodical at sixpence, dealing with interesting points of progress in all subjects, ought to command the sympathies and the subscriptions of all our readers. It is supported by leading men in all

branches of learning, and the board of management will include representatives of a number of specialist associations. But the periodical is intended for educated men, not for specialists in particular.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

**.* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

- Aeschylus.** Agamemnon. Translated by R. K. Davis. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. x + 70. Oxford: Blackwell, 1919. Half cloth, paper boards, 4s. 6d. net.
- Allison** (Sir R.) Lucretius on the Nature of Things. Translated into English Verse. $8'' \times 6''$. Pp. xxxii + 275. London: A. L. Humphreys, 1919. Half buckram, 7s. 6d. net.
- Andreadis** (A. M.) Dilke and Greece. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 48. London: Hesperia Press, 1919.
- Cook** (Sir Edward). Literary Recreations. Pp. x + 330. More Literary Recreations. Pp. xxiv + 398. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. 7s. 6d. net each.
- Dobson** (J. F.) The Greek Orators. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. viii + 321. London: Methuen and Co., 1919. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Dottin** (G.) La Langue Gauloise, Grammaire, Textes et Glossaire. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xviii + 364. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1920. Fr. 10.
- Fiske** (G. C.) The Plain Style in the Scipionic Circle. Reprinted from University of Wisconsin Studies, No. 3, Pp. 62-105. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$.
- Freeman** (C. E.) Latin Poetry, from Catullus to Claudian. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 176. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919. Limp cloth, 3s. net.
- Hackett** (J. T.) My Commonplace Book. $9'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. Pp. xxii + 403. London: Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1919. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Harrison** (J. E.) Aspects, Aorists, and the Classical Tripos. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Cambridge University Press, 1919. 2s. 6d. net.
- Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen.** Herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann. $8'' \times 5''$. Menandri reliquiae nuper repertae, iterum edidit Siegfried Sudhaus, 1914. Pp. 104. M. 2. Cloth, M. 2.40. Novae Comoediae Fragmenta in papyris reperta exceptis Menandreis ed. Otto Schroeder, 1915. Pp. 78. M. 2. Vergili Maronis Bucolica cum auctoribus et imitatoribus in usum scholarum ed. Carolus Hosius, 1915. Pp. 64. M. 1. Cloth, M. 1.50. Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi in usum scholarum ed. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, 1916. Pp. 58. M. 1.60.
- Lewis** (L. W. P.) Practical Hints on the Teaching of Latin. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xviii + 210. London: Macmillan and Co., 1919. Cloth, 5s. net.
- London Mercury.** Edited by J. C. Squire. Vol. I., No. 1. $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xxix + 128. London: Field Press, Ltd., November, 1919. Paper, 2s. 6d.
- Menander.** See Kleine Texte.
- Minucius Felix (Octavius).** Edited by the Rev. T. Fahy, B.D. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. ix + 196. Educational Company of Ireland, Ltd., 1919. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Modern Languages.** Edited by E. G. Underwood. Vol. I., No. 1. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7''$. Pp. 32. A. and C. Black, Ltd., October, 1919. Paper, 1s. net.
- Oesterley** (W. O. F.) The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (Pirke Aboth). $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xx + 104. London: S.P.C.K., 1919. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Passages for Greek and Latin Repetition.** Selected by Masters at Uppingham School. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 88. Oxford University Press, 1919. Limp cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Phillimore** (J. S.) The Revival of Criticism. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 32. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1919. 1s. 6d. net.
- Plautus.** Menaechmi. Edited by Clara M. Knight. $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xxxvi + 132. Cambridge University Press, 1919. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Sheppard** (J. T.) Richard Croke. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 24. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1919. Paper, 1s. 6d. net.
- Sophocles.** Ajax. Translated by R. C. Trevelyan. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 58. London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1919. Paper, 2s. net; cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Sophocles.** Ichneutae. Translated by R. J. Walker. $9'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xvii + 664. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd., 1919. Cloth, £3 3s. od. net.
- Theocritus.** Idylls. By R. J. Cholmeley. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. viii + 450. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1919. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- The Officium and Miracula of Richard Rolle of Hampole.** Edited by R. M. Woolley, D.D. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 97. London: S.P.C.K., 1919. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.** $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xlviii + 162. London: Ginn and Co., 1918. Paper, \$2.50.
- Vergil.** Prize Latin Poem, with three others. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 60. Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1919.
- Virgil.** See Kleine Texte.
- Vürtheim** (J.) Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xii + 112. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1919.
- Warren** (E. P.) M.A. Alcmaeon. Hypermetra, Caeneus. $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. 110. Oxford: Blackwell, 1919. Half cloth, paper boards, 4s. 6d. net.
- Weiskotten** (H. T.) Sancti Augustini Vita scripta a Possidio Episcopo. Edited with revised text, Introduction, Notes, and English Version, by H. T. W. (Dissertation for doctorate). $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$. Pp. 176. Princeton University Press and Clarendon Press.
- Westaway** (F. W.) Scientific Method. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xxii + 426. London: Blackie and Son, Ltd., 1919. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

INDEX

I.—GENERAL INDEX.

A.

- Acts* XV. (29), 100, 151 f.
Adam (Mrs.), notice of De Sanctis' *Storia dei Romani*, 75 ff.
 Aeneas, relation with Pallas and Evander, 29 f.
Agar (T. L.), the Homeric Hymns (XII.), 85 ff.; (XIII.), 130 ff.
 obituary notice of B. B. Rogers, 167
 Alcaeus, the new fragments of, 127b ff.
 Anatolian family, a noble, 1 ff.
Anderson (J. G. C.), obituary notice of Professor F. Haverfield, 165 f.
 Andrelinus, 40 f.
Anth. Pal. V. (6); XII. (3), 25
 Annibaldi's *Agricola* and *Germania* of Tacitus, noticed, 158 ff.
 Apollo, notes on the religious character of, 88 f.
Appleton (E. B.), Aeschylus, *Eumenides* (864 sq.), 26
 Aristophanes, *Ach.* (912), 63
 Pax, notes on, 150 f.
 Augustus, 65 f.

B.

- Bailey** (C.), notes on Aristophanes' *Pax*, 150 f.
 Barker's *Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors*, noticed, 114 f.
 Basil and the Gregories, 1
Bassett (Samuel E.), *δαίμων* in Homer, 134 f.
 Beazley's *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums*, noticed, 154 f.
 Boethius, philosophy of, 160 ff.
 Boethius' *die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi*, noticed, 113 f.
 Bolshevism, 165b
Books Received, 48, 84, 124, 168
 Box, Charles and Landsman's *Translations of Early Documents*, noticed, 165
Braunholtz (G. E. K.), Harley MS. 2610 and *Ovid Met. I.* (544 sqq.) 140 f.
 notice of Enk's *Grattii Cynegeticon quae supersunt*, 157 f.
Brooks (E. J.), queries to article on Plaut. *Stich.* 1 ff., C.R., September 1918, 64
Brooks (E. W.), Epimenides and 'Maxanidus,' 100
 Brownson's Xenophon, *Hellenica* I.-V. (Loeb Library), noticed, 118
Burd (H. W. M.), Cicero's letters in Atticus, XV. (9) 103
Bury (E. G.), notice of Jones' *The Platonism of Plutarch*, 44
 notice of Laird's *Plato's Geometrical Number and the Comment of Proclus*, 45b f.
 notice of Whittaker's *The Neo-Platonists*, 164a
Butler (H. E.), Virgil, *Aen. VI.* (859), 61 ff.

- Butterworth** (G. W.), the meaning of *ὡς ὁ λόγος* re, 15 ff.
 notice of Perrin's *Plutarch's Lives* (Vol. V., Loeb Library), 71 f.
 notice of Miss Stawell's *The Price of Freedom*, 110

C.

- Carthaginian imperialism, compared to British, 76
Cary (M.), note on Herodotus III. (104), 148 f.
 note on Livy xxi. 48 (3), 107b f.
 Pompey's compromise, 109
 Catullus 39, 11, *Parvus UMBER*, 105b f.
 Chase's *Catalogue of Arretine Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, noticed, 78 f.
Cholmeley (H. P.), Classical teaching, 145 ff.
 Christian physicians, 76 f.
 Cicero, *Pro. Rab. Post.* 7 (17), 66
 Cicero's letters to Atticus, XV. (9), 103
Clark (Albert C.), notice of Sjögren's *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epp. ad Atticum I.-IV.*, 37 ff.
 Classical teaching, 145 ff.
 'colon Reizianum,' 64 f.
Colson (F. H.), Phaedrus and Quintilian I. 9. 2—
 a reply to Professor Postgate, 59 ff.
 composition in Roman schools, 59 f.
Culex, a metrical peculiarity of the, 95 ff.

D.

- δαίμων* in Homer, 134 f.
 Daphne, 140b f.
 Delphi, the Athenian sacrifice at, 113 f.
 De Sanctis: *Storia dei Romani* (Vol. III.), noticed, 75 ff.
 Dennison's *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period*, noticed, 117 f.
Dobson (Dina Portway), 'quis aquam Nili,' 28
 dreams in Homer and Greek Tragedy, 116
Duff (J. Wight), notice of Moricca's *L. Annæi Senecæ Thyestes, Phædra*, 119 f.
 notice of the Paravia texts of the minor works of Tacitus, 158 ff.

E.

- Edmonds** (J. M.), the new Lyric fragments (III.), 125 ff.
Eitrem (S.), some notes on the religious character of Apollo, 88 ff.
Elmore (Jefferson), Horace, *Epp. II.* 3 (120 sqq.), 102b f.
 Serm. II. i. (886) 101b f.
 Enk's *Grattii Cynegeticon quae supersunt*, noticed, 157 f.
 Ennius, echoes of, in the *Aeneid*, 138 ff.

Epimenides and 'Maxanidus,' 100 (*see* Vol. XXX.
pp. 33 ff., 137 ff.)
epitaphs, fourth-century Anatolian, 1 ff.
Euripidea, 136 f.
Euthymides, 73 f.
Evelyn-White (C. H.), notice of Stewart and Rand's
Boethius, 160 ff.

F.

Fay (Edwin W.), the derivation of Latin 'rudis'
quasi 'singlestick,' 106b f.
nostrum nobis, 109b.
Feltoe's *St. Dionysius of Alexandria, Letters and
Treatises*, noticed, 122b.
Fronto, a passage of (Naber, p. 203), 153a.
Fowler (Frank H.), the 'prospective,' 97 ff.
Frank (Tenney), Pompey's compromise: Cicero,
ad Fam. VIII. 11 (3), 68
Virgil, *Aen.* VIII. (23), 104

G.

Garrod (H. W.), 'Mule nihil sentis' (Catull. 88. 3),
67
two passages of Virgil, 105
Virgil and Gregory of Tours, 28
Gauls, invasion of Greece and Asia Minor by the,
90
Gegner (E. E.), notice of Laurand's *Manuel des
Études grecques et latines*, 164
gold currency in the time of Hannibal, 108
Graeco-Roman ostraca from Dakka, Nubia, 49 ff.
Granger (Frank), notice of Sir Ray Lankester's
*Natural Science and the Classical System in
Education*, 110 ff.
notice of West's *The Value of the Classics*,
122b f.
Greek Anthology, additions to the, 55
poetry, on the new fragments of, recently
published at Berlin, 90 f.

H.

Hardy (E. G.), note on Cicero, *Pro Rab. Post.* 7 (17),
66
Harley M. S. 2610 and Ovid, *Met.* I. (544 sqq.), 140 f.
Haverfield (F.), Augustus, 65
obituary notice of, 167
Herakles of Euripides, on the date of the, 54 f.
Herford (M. A. B.), *Aen.* XI. (45 sq., 152 sq.), 29
Herford's (Miss) *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting*,
noticed, 155 f.
Herodotus III. 104, note on, 148 f.
Hippolytus, the art of Euripides in the, 9 ff.
Hirst, G. M., Statius, *Silvae* I. vi. (7 sq.), 149 f.
Homer, *Odyssey* IV., 442, VIII. (229), 151a.
Homeric Hymns, the, 85 ff., 130 ff.
Hoppin's *Euthymides and his Fellows*, noticed, 73 f.
Handbook of Attic red-figured Vases, noticed, 156
Horace, metonymy in (*Odes* I.), 27
Carm. i. (14), 101
Epp. ii. 3 (120 sqq.), 102b f.
Sat. I. ix. (39 sq.), 64; II. i. (886), 101b f.
Housman (A. E.), *nihil* in Ovid, 56 ff.
Howarth (O. J. E.), notice of Jones' *Geography of
Strabo* (Loeb Library), 36 f.

I.

IMANTEAIFMOZ, 24
Indus valley, Herodotus on the climate of the,
148 f.
inscriptions from Priene, 88 f.

J.

Jackson (J.), notice of Winstedt's *Cicero's Letters to
Atticus*, 120 f.

jewellery, 'Roman,' 117 f.

Johnson (H. H.), the Acts, XV. (29), 100
Jones' (H. L.) *Geography of Strabo* (Loeb Library),
noticed, 36 f.
Jones' (R. M.), *The Platonism of Plutarch*, noticed, 44
'Justice,' Greek version of Rudyard Kipling's, 47

K.

Keon (M.), Aristophanes, *Ach.* (912), 63
Horace, *Sat.* I. ix. (39 sq.), 64

L.

Laird's *Pluto's Geometrical Number and the Comment
of Proclus*, noticed, 45b f.
Lamb (W.), notice of Chase's *Catalogus of Arretine
Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*,
78 f.
notice of Hoppin's *Euthymides and his Fellows*,
73 f.
landed families, Anatolian, 1 ff.
Lankester's (Sir Ray), *Natural Science and the Classical
System in Education*, noticed, 110 ff.
Latin authors, notes on, 153
Laurand's *Manuel des Etudes grecques et Latines*,
noticed, 164
Leuconoe, 27 f.
lightning, watch kept for, 113
Lindsay (W. M.), Catullus 39, 11, *parvus umber*,
105b f.
an uncial fragment of Plautus, 152
Mandalus. Recula. Malacrucia, 66
Martial XIV. xxix. (2), 26
Plautus, *Cas.* (416, 814), *ib.*
Recula, *ib.*
Livy ii. 30 (4); xxi. 48 (3), 107 f.
Lyric fragments, the new (III.), 125 ff.

M.

M. (F. H.), notice of Dennison's 'A Gold Treasure
of the Late Roman Period,' 117 f.
Mair (A. W.), Euripidea, 136 f.
Mandalus. Recula. Malacrucia, 66
manuscripts, the descent of, 79 ff.
Marchant (E. C.), notice of Brownson's *Xenophon*,
Hellen. I.-V., 118 f.
Matthaei's *Studies in Greek Tragedy*, noticed, 69 f.
Messer's *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*,
noticed, 116
Meton, 27b
Moricca's *L. Annaei Senecae Thyestes Phaedra*, noticed,
119 f.
MSS. of Cicero, 37 ff.
of New Testament in Freer Collection, 122
of Old Testament in Freer Collection, 121
of Ovid, 140
of Plautus, 152
of Seneca, 119
of Tacitus, 158 f.
Mulvany (C. M.), a supposed fragment of Theo-
phrastus, 18
Mustard's *Eclagues of Faustus Andrelinus and Joannes
Arnolletus*, noticed, 40 f.

N.

nihil in Ovid, 56 ff.
nolim and *velim* with perfect infinitive, 93a
NOTES, 24 ff., 63 ff., 100 ff., 148 ff.
NOTES AND NEWS, 46, 84, 123, 167

O.

OBITUARY, Professor F. Haverfield, 165 f.
Digitized by Benjamin Bickley Rogers, 167
omen from fall of weapons, 103b

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS, 1 ff., 49 ff., 85 ff., 125 ff.
Owen (S. G.), notice of Mustard's *Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Joannes Arnolletus*, 40 f.
 notice of Ramsay's *Juvenal and Persius* (Loeb Library), 42 ff.

P.

Paton's The Greek Anthology (Vol. IV., Loeb Library), noticed, 35 f.
Pearce (J. W. E.), a passage of Fronto (Naber, p. 203), 153a
Pearson (A. C.), notice of Trever's *History of Greek Economic Thought*, 74
 notice of Prickard's *Selected Essays of Plutarch*, 33 ff.
Perrin's Plutarch's Lives (Vol. V., Loeb Library), noticed, 71 f.
Phaedrus and Quintilian I. 9, 2—a reply to Professor Postgate, 59 ff.
Phaedrus and Seneca, 19 ff.
Phillimore (J. S.), in Propertium retractationes selectae, 91 ff.
 Phrygian custom, survivals of, in Lycaonia, 7
Platnauer (M.), *Anth. Pal.* V. (6), 25
 Plato's 'nuptial number', 45
Platt (Arthur), Thucydides II. (48), 63
Plautus. Stich. 1 ff., queries to article on, in C. R. September, 1918, 64
 an uncial fragment of, 152
Polybius, 77
Pompey's Compromise: Cicero, *ad Fam.* VIII. 11 (3), 68, 109
Πορκέλα, on the suggestion, in *Acts* XV. (20, 29), 151 f.
Postgate (J. P.), **Phaedrus and Seneca**, 19 ff.
 Quintilian I. 9 (2), 108b
Powell (J. U.), additions to the Greek Anthology, 55
 on the new fragments of Greek poetry recently published at Berlin, 90 f.
 on the suggestion *πορκέλα* in *Acts* xv. 20, 29, 151 f.
 notice of Paton's *The Greek Anthology* (Vol. IV.), 35 f.
Prickard's Selected Essays of Plutarch, noticed, 33 ff.
Proctor (F. A.), *Anth. Pal.* XII. (3), 25
 Proserpine, rape of, 28b
 Propertium, retractationes selectae in, 91 ff.
 (See Vol. 1916, p. 39: 1917, p. 87)
 'prospective,' the, 97 ff., 141 ff.
 Punic War, the first, 76
 Pythais, the Athenian, 113 f.

Q.

Quintilian I. 9 (2), 108b
 (See p. 59)
Quirinus, 64b
 'quis aquam Nili,' 28

R.

Ramsay (W. M.), a noble Anatolian family of the fourth century, 1 ff.
Ramsay's Juvenal and Persius (Loeb Library), noticed, 42 ff.
 rations, Roman soldiers', 51
Reconstruction Problems, 21: *the Classics in British Education*, noticed, 83 f.
 REVIEWS, 31 ff., 69 ff., 110 ff., 154 ff.
 rhetorical exercises, 59 f.
 Rhys Roberts' *Patriotic Poetry, Greek and English*, noticed, 163 f.
Richards (G. C.), notice of Boethius' *dis Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi*, 113 f.
Robertson-Luxford (J. S. O.), *Homer, Odys.* IV. 442, VIII. (229) 151a

Rogers, Benjamin E., obituary notice of, 167
Rouse (W. H. D.), *Virgil*, 138 ff.
 'rudis' *quass* 'singlestick,' derivation of, 106b f.

S.

S. (A.), notice of Vürtheim's *Teukros und Teukror*, 46
S. (J. A.), the art of Euripides in the *Hippolytus*, 9 ff.
Sanders' New Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection (Part II.), noticed, 122b.
Old Testament MSS. in the Freer Collection (Part II.), noticed, 121 f.
 Sappho, the new fragments of, 125 ff.
 'semi-quotation,' 22b f.
 Sergii, Christian sympathies of the, 8
Sheppard (J. T.), notice of Miss Matthaei's *Studies in Greek Tragedy*, 69 f.
 notice of Meuser's *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*, 116
Shewan (A.), notice of Van Leeuwen's *Enchiridium*, 31 ff.
 SHORT NOTICES, 44 ff., 121 ff., 163 ff.
Sing (J. M.), Euripides, *Hecuba* (854 sqq.), 64
 Sjögren's *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epp. ad Atticum*, I.-IV., noticed, 37 ff.
Slater (D. A.), Harley MS. 2610 and Ovid, *Met.* I. (544 sqq.), 140 f.
 'Virgil, *Aen.* VII. 695-6' Again, 144 f.
 notice of *Reconstruction Problems*, 83 f.
Smith (J. A.), metonymy in Horace, *Odes*, I. (xi.), 27
Sonnenschein (E. A.), the 'prospective,' 141 ff.
 Sophocles, *Antigone* (471 sq.), 25
Souter (A.), notes on Latin authors, 153
spolia opima, the, 61 f.
Spranger (J. A.), on the date of the *Herakles* of Euripides, 54 f.
 Statius, *Silvae*, I. vi. (7 sq.), 149 f.
 Stawell's *The Price of Freedom*, noticed, 110
 Stewart and Rand's *Boethius* (Loeb Library), noticed, 160 ff.
suasoriae, 44b

T.

notice of Rhys Roberts' *Patriotic Poetry, Greek and English*, 163 f.
T. (E. M. W.), notice of Beazley's *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, 155
 notice of Miss Herford's *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting*, 155 f.
 notice of Hoppin's *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, 156
 Teucer and the Teucri, 46
 Thackeray's *The Letter of Aristeas*, noticed, 123b
 Theophrastus, *Characters*, No. V. (Jebb), emendation of, 63
 Thespians, the, 54 f.
Thompson (D'Arcy Wentworth), *μαρτυρητός*, 24
 Thucydides, II. (48), 63
 Trever's *History of Greek Economic Thought*, noticed, 74

V.

Van Leeuwen's *Enchiridium*, noticed, 31 ff.
 VERSION, 'Justice' (Rudyard Kipling), 47
Viljoen (H. G.), emendation of Theophrastus, *Characters*, 63
Vince (C. A.), Horace C. i. (14), 101
 Virgil, 138 ff.
 'Aen. VII. 695-6' Again, 144 f.
 and Gregory of Tours, 28
 echoes of Ennius in, 138 ff.
 notes on, 29, 30, 61, 67, 68, 103, 104, 105
 one-syllable endings in, 138 ff.
 Vürtheim's *Teukros und Teukror*, noticed, 46

W.

- Walters (C. Flamstead)**, the descent of manuscripts, 79 ff.
Warde Fowler (W.), a metrical peculiarity of the *Culex*, 95 ff.
 note on Virgil, *Ecl.* IV. (60 sqq.), 67
Weatherhead (T. C.), Bolshevism, 165b
West's *The Value of the Classics*, noticed, 122b f.
White (Hugh G. Evelyn), Graeco-Roman ostraca from Dakka, Nubia, 49 ff.
Whittaker's Neo-Platonists, noticed, 164

- Wick's Cornelii Taciti dialogus de Oratoribus**, noticed, 159
Williamson (H.), *Aen.* I. (460), 30
Winstedt's Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Vol. III. (Loeb Library), noticed, 120 f.

Z.

- Zimmern (A.E.)**, notice of Barker's *Greek Political Theory*, 114 f.

Ω.

- ΩΣ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΕ, the meaning of, 15 ff.

II.—INDEX LOCORUM.

A.

- Aeschylus**:—
Eumen. (12), 113b; (864 sq.), 26a
Alcaeus:—
Fragments (Ox. Pap., Vols. X., XI.), 1233. 2. ii. (2), 127b; 33 (5 sqq.), 128a. 1234 (1), 128ab; 4 (6 sqq.), 128b; 6 (7 sqq.), 129a. 1360. I. (9 sqq.), 129ab; (2), 129b f.
Anth. Pal.:—
 V. (6), XII. (3), 25
Apuleius:—
Met. V. (19), 153b
Aristophanes:—
Ach. (912), 63b f.
Pax (72 sq., 114 sqq., 250), 150

C.

- Catullus**:—
 XXXIX. (11), 105b f.
Cicero:—
ad Att. I. i. 4. 3. 3, 20 (2), 38b; II. i. 5, 18. 2, 21 (6), 39; III. 8 (2), 38b; IV. 15. 4, 17 (3), 39a; XV. (9), 103
ad Fam. VIII. 6 (5), 109a
Or. post red. in sen. hab. (29), 153b
pro Rab. post. 7 (17), 66

E.

- Euripides**:—
Hec. (854 sqq.), 64a
Her. Fur. (217 sqq.), 55
Ion (285), 113b
Iphig. in Aul. (990 sq.), 136a
Troades (568 sqq.), 136b f.

F.

- Fronto**:—
 (Naber, p. 203), 152a

H.

- Herodotus**:—
 III. (104), 148 f.
Homer:—
Odys. IV. (442), VIII. (229), 151a
Homeric Hymns:—
in Apoll. (286, 299, 316), 85; (324, 327, 329, 331, 343 sqq.), 86; (335, 337, 361), 87; (374, 390), 88; (399 sqq.), 130; (419), 88; (427), 130; (435), 88; (437, 447, 449), 130; (450, 456, 459), 131; (476 sq., 491, 495), 132; (506, 527, 529, 534-539), 133; (540), 134
Horace:—
C. I. (xi), 27 f.; (xiv.), 101
Epp. II. iii. (120 sqq.), 102b f.
Serm. I. ix. (39 sq.), 64; II. i. (886), 101b f.

L.

- Livy**:—
 II. 30 (4), 107a; XXI. 48 (3), 107b f.
Lucilius:—

M.

- Martial**:—
 XIV. xxix. (2)

N.

- N. T.**:—
Acts xv. (29), 100b f.; xvii. (18), 100a
Tit. i. (12), 100a

O.

- Ovid**:—
Met. I. (544 sqq), 140 f.

P.

- Plautus**:—
Cas. (416, 814), 26b; (278 sqq.), 27a
Cistell. (123-147, 158-182), 152
Propertius:—
 I. iii. (8), 91; *ib.* (191 sq.), 92a; vii. (16), 92b f.; viii. (13 sqq.), 93; ix. (23 sq.), 93b f.; xi. (6), 94b f.

Q.

- Quintilian**:—
 I. 9 (2), 109b

S.

- Sappho**:—
Fragments (Ox. Pap., Vols. X., XI.), 1231, I. i. (13 sqq.), 125 f.; (10) 126a; 16 (2 sqq.), 126ab; (56), 126b f.; 1232, I. i.; (8), 127a; ii. (2, 9, 12, 17 sqq.), 127ab; 1232, 2 (1 sqq.) 127b
Seneca:—
Phaedra (343, 465 sqq., 508, 520, 769, 890), 119b
Thyestes (355), 119b
Sophocles:—
Ant. (471 sq.), 25a.
Statius:—
Silv. I. vi. 7 sq. (*coll. Aen.* viii. 317; *Martial.* viii. 78), 149b f.

T.

- Theophrastus**:—
Characters, V. v. 17 ff. (Jebb), 62b
Thucydides:—
 II. (48), 63a

V.

- Virgil**:—
Aen. I. (37, 212 sq.), 146b; (460), 30; VI. (859), 61 f.; VII. (641 sqq.), 103b f. (695 sq.), 144 f.; VIII. (23), 104; (376 sqq.), 105; IX. (743), 107a; XI. (9), 147a; (45 sq., 152 sq.), 29; XII. (93 sqq.), 105; (473, 519), 68
Culex (37 sqq.), 95; (59, 63, 214, 292), 96a
Ecl. IV. (60 sqq.), 67
Georg. I. (2, 81, 164), 145b; II. (25 sq.), 153b; (386 sq.), 96b; IV. (498 sq.), *ib.*

III.—INDEX VERBORUM

A.—GREEK.

Αιτναῖος κάπθαρος, 150b	A.	κμητός, 85b κολλόροβοι, 50a κώπη, 25a	
βλαχαί, 35b βουλευτής = <i>curialis</i> , 2b	B.	Λευκόνοιον, 27b	A.
Γαλεοί, Γαλεῶται, 89	Γ.	μακάριος, 6a μονογενής, 35b	M.
δαίμων, 134 ff. δόλοφον, 126a	Δ.	οὔσα, 91b	O.
ἡ ἐπήρης, 85a	Ε.	πασπάριος, 89b περιδύω, 4a ῥ πορκεία, 151b	Π.
ἱμαντελιγμός, 24a ἱμαντελικτής, 24b	I.	σοῦσον, 91a	Σ.
κάμπης, 34b καράτομος, 137 καταβνητοί, 132a κάτοχος, 26b κιβαριάτωρ, 50b	K.	τετραπόργια, 1a	T.
		ὡς οἶον τε, 15 ff.	Ω

B.—LATIN.

<i>acies</i> , 144a <i>aclydes</i> , 'boomerangs,' 104a <i>actor</i> , 105b <i>alticinctus</i> , 21b <i>arx</i> , 144 <i>augustus</i> , 65b	A.	<i>obaudisms</i> , 153b	O.
<i>certa manus</i> , 91 <i>cibariator</i> , 50	C.	<i>praedere</i> , 93b f.	P.
<i>evigilare</i> , 93b <i>extremus</i> = <i>minimus</i> , 94b	E.	<i>quam</i> , 'than,' 109b	Q.
<i>hirundo</i> , 'swift,' 68 <i>honoratum Achillem</i> , 102b f.	H.	<i>re</i> -, the prefix, 104b <i>recla</i> , 26a	R.
<i>mala crux</i> , 26 ? <i>malacrucia</i> , 26 <i>mandalus</i> , 26b <i>meliscuius</i> , 216 <i>metella</i> , <i>metellus</i> , 67b	M.	<i>Scythicae volucres</i> , 43b <i>stare</i> , 'to be successful,' 64b <i>stricturas chalybum</i> , 147a <i>sub sidere</i> , 93b	S.
		<i>tabulae</i> , 102a <i>tibicen</i> , 42b	T.

DATE DUE

MAY 17 1984			
MAY 24 1984			
GAYLORD			PRINTED IN U.S.A.



3 1210 00454 6626

